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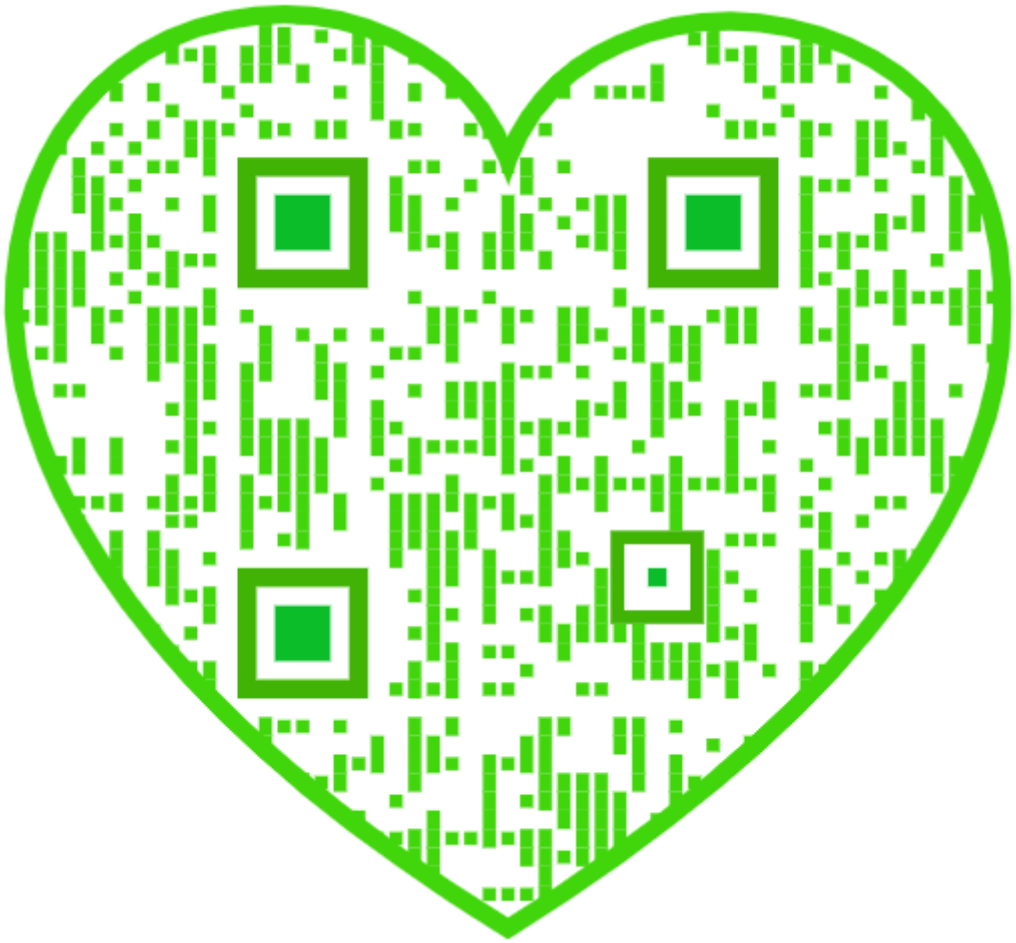

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THE

ORIGIN

OF

PRINTING.

IN TWO ESSAYS:

I. The Substance of Dr. MIDDLETON's Dissertation on the Origin of Printing in ENGLAND.

II. Mr. MEERMAN's Account of the Invention of the Art at HARLEIM, and its Progress to MENTZ.

WITH OCCASIONAL REMARKS;

AND AN APPENDIX.

THE SECOND EDITION:
With IMPROVEMENTS.

LONDON:
Printed for W. BOWYER and J. NICHOLS,
in Red-Lion-Passage, Fleet-Street.
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE original intention of the Editors of this work was merely to have re-publiſhed Dr. MIDDLETON's Diſſertation on Printing, with occaſional Remarks on ſome Miſtakes of that learned and ingenious Author. This leading into a wider field of enquiry, the plan was naturally extended: and the Doctor's Diſſertation forms only the FIRST PART; with obſervations on it in the form of Notes, to diſtinguiſh them from the paſſages they are intended to illuſtrate.

The SECOND ESSAY, though not pretended to be *a complete Hiſtory* of the Origin of the Art, they venture to aſſert, gives a clearer account of it than any book hitherto publiſhed in this kingdom. It contains, in as conciſe a manner as poſſible, the ſubſtance of the *Origines Typographicæ* of the very learned and ingenious Mr. GERARD MEERMAN, Penſionary of Rotterdam; and may be conſidered as the outlines of that curious publication, with ſupplementary Notes on ſome intereſting particulars. Mr. MEERMAN very clearly fixes the firſt rudiments of the art to LAURENTIUS, at Harleim; the improvement of it to GEINSFLEICH ſenior and his brother GUTENBERG, *Anglicè* GOOD-HILL, (aſſiſted by the liberality of JOHN FUST) at Mentz; and the completion of the whole to PETER SCHOEFFER, in the ſame city. The claim of Straſburgh is conſidered, and evidently overthrown.

330273

On the whole, they by no means agree with Dr. MIDDLETON in the point of CAXTON's priority to the Oxford Book, or in the arguments adduced by the Doctor in support of his opinion; any more than in the other point, of the place where the art was first invented and practised abroad. They are of opinion, that the Oxford press was prior to CAXTON's; and think that those who have called Mr. CAXTON "the first printer in England," and LELAND in particular, meant that he was the first who practised the art with *fusile types*, and consequently "first brought "it to *perfection*:" which is not inconsistent with CORSELLIS's having printed earlier at Oxford with *separate cut types in wood*, the only method he had learnt at Harleim. The speaking of CAXTON, as the first Printer in England, in *this* sense of the expression, is not irreconcileable with the story of CORSELLIS. But, the facts and opinions being laid before the Reader, he will judge for himself how far the former are supported by evidence, and thence will determine what degree of assent the latter are entitled to.

Of the APPENDIX, they will only say, that in the former edition the assistance of two valuable Friends contributed to make it interesting: and though they have since had reason to lament the loss of one of them, the present publication is benefited by fresh influences of his learned labours. The communications of some other ingenious Gentlemen have been attended to; and, they hope, not improperly made use of.

Sept. 1, 1778.

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† In PALMER'S Hiſtory of Printing, p. 327, mention is made of a *Book of Miſcellanies*; in the firſt leaf of which is an account of two books printed at St. Alban's, viz. the Book in which the obſervations are written; and the *Boke of Hawkyng and Huntyng*, deſcribed hereafter, p. 42. Theſe obſervations Mr. PALMER has printed; and adds at the end, "Thus far we have copied from my Lord's manuſcript notes." Mr. MEERMAN (vol. I. p. 142.) remarks on this paſſage, "Re penitus "examinatâ, varia ſunt, quæ eandem narrationem pluſquam ſuſpectam, "imo falſam reddant. Primum eſt, quod ipſe annotatio evincat, eam "non deberi peritiſſimo PEMBROKIÆ Comiti, ut perſuadere lectoribus

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Printing

ESSAY I.

The ORIGIN of PRINTING;

BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF

Dr. MIDDLETON'S Diſſertation, A.D. 1735.

WITH REMARKS.

IT was a conſtant opinion, delivered down by our hiſtorians, as hath been obſerved by Dr. MIDDLETON, that the ART OF PRINTING was introduced and firſt practiſed in England by WILLIAM CAXTON, a mercer and citizen of London; who, by his travels abroad, and a reſidence of many years in Holland, Flanders, and Germany, in the affairs of trade, had an opportunity of informing himſelf of the whole method and proceſs of the art; and by the encouragement of the great, and particularly of the abbot of Weſtminſter, firſt ſet up a preſs in that abbey, and began to print books ſoon after the year 1471.

This was the tradition of our writers; till a book, which had ſcarce been obſerved before the Reſtoration, was then taken notice of by the curious, with a date of its impreſſion from Oxford, anno 1468, and

was conſidered immediately as a clear proof and monument of the exerciſe of printing in that univerſity ſeveral years before Caxton began to deal in it.

The book, which is in the public library at Cambridge, is a ſmall volume of forty-one leaves in quarto, with this title: "Expoſicio Sancti Jeronimi in Simbolum Apoſtolorum ad Papam Laurentium:" and at "the end, Explicit expoſicio, &c. Impreſſa Oxonie, & finita Anno Domini M.CCCC.LXVIII. XVII die Decembris."

The appearance of this book has robbed Caxton of a glory that he had long poſſeſſed, of being the author of printing to this kingdom; and Oxford ever ſince carried the honour of the firſt preſs. The only difficulty was, to account for the ſilence of hiſtory in an event ſo memorable, and the want of any memorial in the univerſity itſelf, concerning the eſtabliſhment of a new art amongſt them, of ſuch uſe and benefit to learning. But this likewiſe has been cleared up, by the diſcovery of a record, which had lain obſcure and unknown at Lambeth-houſe, in the Regiſter of the See of Canterbury, and gives a narrative of the whole tranſaction, drawn up at the very time.

An account of this record was firſt publiſhed in a thin quarto volume, in Engliſh; with this title: "The Original and Growth of PRINTING, collected out of Hiſtory and the Records of this Kingdome: wherein is alſo demonſtrated, that Printing appertaineth to the Prerogative Royal; and is a Flower of the Crown

of

of England. By Richard Atkyns, eſq.—Whitehall, April the 25, 1664. By order and appointment of the right honourable Mr. Secretary Morrice, let this be printed. THO. RYCAUT. London: Printed by John Streater, for the Author. 1664." 4to.

It ſets forth in ſhort [A], "That as ſoon as the art of printing made ſome noiſe in Europe, Thomas Bourchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury, moved the then king (Henry VI.) to uſe all poſſible means for procuring a printing-mold (for ſo it was there called) to be brought into this kingdom. The king (a good man, and much given to works of this nature) readily hearkened to the motion; and, taking private advice how to effect his deſign, concluded it could not be brought about without great ſecrecy, and a conſiderable ſum of money given to ſuch perſon or perſons as would draw off ſome of the workmen of Harleim in Holland, where John Guthenberg had newly invented it, and was himſelf perſonally at work. It was reſolved, that leſs than one thouſand marks would not produce the deſired effect; towards which ſum the ſaid archbiſhop preſented the king three hundred marks. The money being now prepared, the management of the deſign was committed

[A] Dr. Middleton having printed only a very ſmall extract from this book of Mr. Atkyns, it was thought proper to lay the ſubſtance of it more fully before the reader, from Maittaire's Annales Typographicæ, vol. i. p. 28 —Palmer has alſo given a particular account of it, Hiſt. of Printing, p. 314. B.

to Mr. Robert Turnour; who then was of the robes to the king, and a perſon moſt in favour with him of any of his condition. Mr. Turnour took to his aſſiſtance Mr. Caxton, a citizen of good abilities, who traded much into Holland; which was a creditable pretence, as well for his going, as ſtay in the Low Countries. Mr. Turnour was in diſguiſe (his beard and hair ſhaven quite off); but Mr. Caxton appeared known and public. They, having received the ſaid ſum of one thouſand marks, went firſt to Amſterdam, then to Leyden, not daring to enter Harleim itſelf; for the town was very jealous, having impriſoned and apprehended divers perſons, who came from other parts for the ſame purpoſe. They ſtaid, till they had ſpent the whole thouſand marks in gifts and expences: ſo as the king was fain to ſend five hundred marks more, Mr. Turnour having written to the king, that he had almoſt done his work; a bargain (as he ſaid) being ſtruck betwixt him and two Hollanders, for bringing-off one of the under-workmen, whoſe name was Frederick Corſells (or rather Corſellis), who late one night ſtole from his fellows in diſguiſe into a veſſel prepared before for that purpoſe; and ſo, the wind favouring the deſign, brought him ſafe to London. It was not thought ſo prudent to ſet him on work at London: but, by the archbiſhop's means (who had been vice-chancellor and afterwards chancellor of the univerſity of Oxon), Corſellis was carried with a guard to Oxon: which guard conſtantly watched, to prevent Corſellis from any poſ-

ſible

ſible eſcape, till he had made good his promiſe in teaching them how to print. So that at Oxford printing was firſt ſet up in England, which was before there was any printing-preſs or printer in France, Spain, Italy, or Germany (except the city of Mentz), which claims ſeniority, as to printing, even of Harleim itſelf, calling her city, "Urbem Moguntinam artis typographicæ inventricem primam," though it is known to be otherwiſe; that city gaining the art by the brother of one of the workmen of Harleim, who had learnt it at home of his brother, and after ſet up for himſelf at Mentz [B]. This preſs at Oxon was at leaſt ten years before there was any printing in Europe, except at Harleim and Mentz, where it was but new-born. This preſs at Oxford was afterwards found inconvenient, to be the ſole printing-place of England; as being too far from London and the ſea. Wherefore the king ſet up a preſs at St. Alban's, and another in the city of Weſtminſter; where they printed ſeveral books of *divinity* and

[B] This circumſtance is urged as a great confirmation of the authority of this narration. The fact here aſſerted has been proved to be true, viz. that there were two brothers, JOHN GEINSFLEISCH ſenior and junior, the firſt of whom practiſed this art on ſeparate wooden types at Harleim, and both of them at Mentz. See p. 77.—This opinion is ſo contrary to what all the Engliſh hiſtorians relate, as Fabian, Hollingſhed, Stow, Baker, &c. and Caxton himſelf, that the author muſt have had his information from ſome one who took it from the moſt authentic monuments. MEERMAN, vol. ii. p. 30. N.

phyſic;

phyſic; *for the king* (for reaſons beſt known to himſelf and council) *permitted then no law-books to be printed*; nor did any printer exerciſe that art, but only ſuch as were the king's ſworn ſervants; *the king himſelf having the price and emolument for printing books*.—By this means the art grew ſo famous, that anno primo Ric. III. c. 9, when an act of parliament was made for reſtraint of aliens from uſing any handicrafts here (except as ſervants to natives), a ſpecial proviſo was inſerted, that ſtrangers might bring-in printed or written books, to ſell at their pleaſure, and exerciſe the art of printing here, notwithſtanding that act: ſo in that ſpace of forty or fifty years, by the indulgence of Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII, the Engliſh proved ſo good proficients in printing, and grew ſo numerous, as to furniſh the kingdom with books; and ſo ſkilful, as to print them as well as any beyond the ſeas; as appears by the act 25 Henry VIII, cap. 15, which abrogates the ſaid proviſo for that reaſon. And it was further enacted in the ſaid ſtatute, that if any perſon bought foreign books bound, he ſhould pay 6*s*. 8*d*. *per* book. And it was further provided and enacted, that in caſe the ſaid printers or ſellers of books were unreaſonable in their prices, they ſhould be moderated by the lord chancellor, lord treaſurer, the two lords chief juſtices, or any two of them; who alſo had power to fine them 3*s*. 4*d*. for every book, whoſe price ſhould be enhanced.—But when they were by charter corporated

rated with *book-binders*, *book-ſellers*, and *founders of letters*, 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, and called THE COMPANY OF STATIONERS—they kickt againſt the power that gave them life, &c.—Queen Elizabeth, the firſt year of her reign, grants by patent *the privilege of ſole printing all books that touch or concern the common laws of England*, to Tottel a ſervant to her majeſty, who kept it intire to his death; after him, to one Yeſt Weirt, another ſervant to her majeſty; after him, to Weight and Norton; and after them, king James grants the ſame privilege to More, one of the ſignet; which grant continues to this day, &c."

From the authority of this record (ſays Dr. M.), all our later writers declare Corſellis to be the firſt printer in England; Mr. Anthony Wood, the learned Mr. Maittaire, Palmer, and one John Bagford, an induſtrious man, who had publiſhed propoſals for an Hiſtory of Printing (Phil. Tranſ. for April, 1707); and whoſe manuſcript papers were communicated to me by my worthy and learned friend Mr. Baker: but it is ſtrange that a piece ſo fabulous, and carrying ſuch evident marks of forgery, could impoſe upon men ſo knowing and inquiſitive.

For, firſt; the fact is laid quite wrong as to time; near the end of Henry the Sixth's reign, in the very heat of the civil wars; when it is not credible that a prince, ſtruggling for life as well as his crown, ſhould have leiſure or diſpoſition to attend to a project that could hardly be thought of, much leſs executed, in

times of ſuch calamity [C]. The printer, it is ſaid, was graciouſly received by the king, made one of his ſworn ſervants, and ſent down to Oxford with a guard, &c. all which muſt have paſſed before the year MCCCCLIX: for Edward IV, was proclaimed in London, in the end of it, according to our computation, on the 4th of March, and crowned about the Midſummer following (ſee Caxton's Chronicle) [D]; and

[C] But this king, after he had laid the foundations for two of the greateſt ſeminaries of literature in England, Eaton and King's College, Cambridge, beſtowed his royal munificence to two colleges in Oxford, amidſt all his troubles. See MEERMAN, vol. ii. p. 32. B.

[D] Whatever Caxton's Chronicle may ſay, we have a much greater authority for fixing the beginning of king Edward's reign in MCCCCLX-I, i. e. a year later than Dr. Middleton does. The firſt inſtrument in Rymer's Conventiones, &c. in this king's reign, begins thus: "Mem. quod die Martis, decimo die Martii, anno regni regis Edw. primo." Now in the year MCCCCLX-I, the tenth of March fell upon a Tueſday; but in MCCCCLIX-LX, on a Monday. This miſtake indeed of Dr. Middleton's is happily a confirmation of his own hypotheſis. A tranſpoſition of a numeral in Caxton's Chronicle (Mar. MCCCCLIX for MCCCCLXI) made him antedate the reign of Edward IV; as the omiſſion of x in the Expoſitio Hieronymi, printed at Oxford, is ſuppoſed to have made the publick antedate the beginning of printing there. But that Univerſity needs no ſuch ſupport: though Dr. M. does. Had he lived to ſuperintend the collection of his works (publiſhed in 1752), he might poſſibly have corrected this miſtake, which was firſt pointed out in the Grub-ſtreet Journal, March 20, 1735. B.

yet

yet we have no fruit of all this labour and expence till ten years after, when the little book, deſcribed above, is ſuppoſed to have been publiſhed from that preſs.

Secondly; the ſilence of Caxton, concerning a fact in which he is ſaid to be a principal actor, is a ſufficient confutation of it: for it was a conſtant cuſtom with him, in the prefaces or concluſions of his works, to give an hiſtorical account of all his labours and tranſactions, as far as they concerned the publiſhing and printing of books. And, what is ſtill ſtronger, in the Continuation of the Polychronicon, compiled by himſelf, and carried down to the end of Henry the Sixth's reign, he makes no mention of the expedition in queſt of a Printer; which he could not have omitted, had it been true: whilſt in the ſame book he takes notice of the invention and beginning of Printing in the city of Mentz [E]; which I ſhall make ſome uſe of by and by.

There is a further circumſtance in Caxton's hiſtory, that ſeems inconſiſtent with the record; for we find him

[E] As Caxton makes no mention in his Polychronicon of his *expedition in queſt of a Printer*; ſo neither does he of his *bringing the art firſt into England*, which it is as much a wonder he ſhould omit as the other. And as to his ſaying that *the invention of Printing was at Mentz*, he means, of printing on *fuſile* ſeparate types. In this he copies, as many others have, from the *Faſciculus Temporum*; a work

him ſtill beyond ſea, about twelve years after the ſuppoſed tranſaction, "learning with great charge and trouble the art of printing" (Recule of the Hiſtories of Troye, in the end of the 2d and 3d books); which he might have done with eaſe at home, if he had got Corſellis into his hands, as the record imports, ſo many years before: but he probably learnt it at Cologn, where he reſided in 1471,

written in 1470, by WERNERUS ROLEVINCH DE LAER, a Carthuſian Monk, a Mſ. copy of which was in the library of Gerard Jo. Voſſius (ſee lib. iii. *de Hiſtor. Latin.* c. 6.); and afterwards continued to the year 1474, when it was firſt printed at Cologn, *typis Arnoldi ter Huernen.* It was re-publiſhed in 1481, by HEINRICUS WIRCZBURG DE VACH, a Cluniac Monk, without mentioning the name either of the printer or of the place of publication. We are told, indeed, in a colophon, that the book was publiſhed *ſub Lodovico Gruerie Comite magnifico*; but, as the country whence this illuſtrious nobleman aſſumed his title was unknown to the learned editor of the *Origines Typographicæ*, it will be no eaſy taſk for an Engliſhman to diſcover it: nor is it of much conſequence; as this edition, though ſomewhat enlarged, was miſerably interpolated throughout, and particularly ſo in the account of the invention of Printing.—It is plain, however, that Caxton had one at leaſt, or more probably both of theſe editions before him, when he wrote his Continuation of the *Polychronicon*, as he mentions this work in his preface, and adopts the ſentiments of its editor. (See MEERMAN, vol. ii. p. 37. and his *Documenta*, N° VII, XXIV, and XXV.). N.

(Recule, &c. ibid.), and whence books had been firſt printed with date, the year before [F].

To the ſilence of Caxton, we may add that of the Dutch writers: for it is very ſtrange, as Mr. Chevillier obſerves, if the ſtory of the record be true, "That Adrian Junius, who has collected all the groundleſs ones that favour the pretenſions of Harleim, ſhould never have heard of it." (L'Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris, c. i. p. 25.)

[F] Caxton tells us, in the preface to *The Hiſtory of Troye*, that he began that tranſlation March 1, 1468, at Bruges; that he proceeded on with it at Ghent; that he finiſhed it at Cologn, 1471; and printed it, probably, in that city with his own types. He was thirty years abroad, chiefly in Holland; and lived in the court of Margaret ducheſs of Burgundy, ſiſter of our Edward IV. It was therefore much eaſier to print his book at Cologn, than to croſs the ſea to learn the art at Oxford. But further, there was a ſpecial occaſion for his printing it abroad. Corſellis had brought over ſo far the art of printing as he had learnt it at Harleim, which was the method of printing on *wooden ſeparate* types, having the face of the letter cut upon them. But the art of *caſting* metal types being divulged in 1462 by the workmen of Mentz, Caxton thought proper to learn that advantageous branch before he returned to England. This method of caſting the types was ſuch an improvement, that they looked on it as the *original* of printing; and Caxton, as moſt others do, aſcribes that to *Mentz*.—Caxton was an aſſiſtant with Turner in getting off *Corſellis*; but it is no where ſuppoſed that he came with him into *England*. See MEERMAN, vol. ii. p. 34. B.

But thirdly; the moſt direct and internal proof of its forgery, is its aſcribing the origin of Printing to Harleim; "where John Guttemberg, the inventor, is ſaid to have been perſonally at work when Corſellis was brought away, and the art itſelf to have been firſt carried to Mentz by a brother of one of Guttemberg's workmen [G]:" for it is certain beyond all doubt, that Printing was firſt invented and propagated from Mentz. Caxton's teſtimony ſeems alone to be deciſive; who, in the Continuation of the Polychronicon, fol. 433 [H], ſays, "About this time (viz. anno 1455) the crafte of emprynting was firſt found in Mogounce in Almayne, &c." He was abroad in the very country, and at the time, when the firſt project and thought of it began, and the rudeſt eſſays of it were attempted; where he continued for thirty years, viz. from 1441 to 1471: and, as he was particularly curious and inquiſitive after this new art, of which he was endeavouring to get a perfect information, he could not be ignorant of the place where it was firſt exerciſed. This confutes what Palmer conjectures, to confirm the credit of the record, "That the compiler might take up with the common report, that paſſed current at the time in Holland, in favour of Harleim; or probably re-

[G] See the words of the record as printed above, p. 5.

[H] The teſtimony of Caxton will perhaps not appear ſo very DECISIVE as Dr. M. imagines, if the circumſtances mentioned above, in the note [E], p. 9, 10, are candidly conſidered. And ſee the Second Eſſay, *paſſim*. N.

ceive

ceive it from Caxton himſelf;" (Hiſt. of Printing, book iii. p. 318:) for it does not appear that there was any ſuch report at the time, nor many years after; and Caxton, we ſee, was better informed from his own knowledge; and, had Palmer been equally curious, he could not have been ignorant of this teſtimony of his in the very caſe.

Beſides the evidence of Caxton, we have another contemporary authority, from the Black Book, or Regiſter of the Garter, publiſhed by Mr. Anſtis, where, in the thirty-fifth year of Henry VI, anno 1457, it is ſaid, "In this year of our moſt pious king, the art of printing bookes firſt began at Mentz, a famous city of Germany." Hiſt. of Garter, vol. ii. p. 161.

Fabian likewiſe, the writer of the Chronicle, an author of good credit, who lived at the ſame time with Caxton, though ſome years younger, ſays, "This yere, (viz. 35 Henry VI,) after the opynyon of dyverſe wryters, began in a citie of Almaine, named Mogunce, the crafte of empryntynge bokys, which ſen that tyme hath had wonderful encreace." Theſe three teſtimonies have not been produced before, that I know of; two of them were communicated to me by Mr. Baker, who of all men is the moſt able, as well as the moſt willing, to give information in every point of curious and uncommon hiſtory.

I need not purſue this queſtion any farther; the teſtimonies commonly alledged in it may be ſeen in Mr. Maittaire, Palmer, &c. I ſhall only obſerve, that

we

we have full and authentic evidence for the cauſe of Mentz, in an edition of Livy from that place, anno 1518, by John Scheffer, the ſon of Peter, the partner and ſon-in-law of John Fauſt: where the PATENT OF PRIVILEGE GRANTED BY THE EMPEROR TO THE PRINTER; the prefatory epiſtle of Eraſmus; the epiſtle dedicatory to the prince by Ulrich Hutten; the epiſtle to the reader of the two learned men who had the care of the edition; all concur in aſſerting the origin of the art to that city, and the invention and firſt exerciſe of it to Fauſt: and Eraſmus particularly, who was a Dutchman, would not have *decided againſt* [I] his own

[I] It muſt be allowed that the edition of Livy (which, by the bye, Dr. Middleton has antedated, it being publiſhed in 1519) is indeed *a full and authentic evidence for the cauſe of Mentz.* The ſeveral authorities Dr. Middleton has referred to are preſerved by Mr. Meerman, in his *Documenta*, N° XLVII. The emperor's patent, dated Dec. 9, 1518, begins thus: "MAXIMILIANUS, &c. honeſto noſtro, & ſacri Imperii fideli nobis dilecto JOHANNI SCHEFFER, Chalchographo Moguntino, gratiam noſtram Cæſaream, & omne bonum. Cum, ſicut docti & moniti ſumus fide dignorum teſtimonio, ingenioſum Chalcographiæ, AUTHORE AVO TUO, inventum, felicibus incrementis, in univerſum orbem promanaverit, &c." It is ſaid by ULRICH HUTTEN, in the dedication to *Albert* the archbiſhop, "Si vel locum voluit LIVIUS aliquem ſuo decorare egreſſu, quem debuit urbi, ARTIS omnium, quæ uſque ſunt, aut unquam fuerunt, PRÆSTANTISSIMÆ INVENTRICI ac ALUMNÆ (IMPRESSORIAM puto, quam hæc dedit) præferre?"—In the epiſtle to the reader by NICHOLAS CARBACHIUS,

own country, had there been any ground for the claim of Harleim.

But to return to the Lambeth record: as it was *never heard of before the publication of Atkins's book*, ſo it has never ſince been ſeen or produced by any man; though the Regiſters of Canterbury have on many occaſions been diligently and particularly ſearched for it. They were examined without doubt very carefully by archbiſhop Parker, for the compiling his Antiquities of the Britiſh Church; where, in the life of Thomas Bourchier, though he congratulates that age on the noble and uſeful invention of

BACHIUS, Jo. SCHEFFER is mentioned as "Chalcographus, à cujus avo Chalcographe IN HAC PRIMUM URBE INVENTA exercitaque eſt." ERASMUS's words are, "Quorum princeps fuiſſe FERTUR JOHANNES FAUST, avus ejus, cui LIVIUM hunc debemus; ut hoc egregium decus partim ad JOHANNEM SCHEFFER, velut *hereditario jure* devolvatur, partim ad MOGUNTIACÆ civitatis gloriam pertineat." And Fabian, before him, ſays, AFTER THE OPINION OF DIVERSE WRITERS. So that it is probable there was *ſome report* (whether upon Harleim's claiming the honour of printing on wooden types firſt, or not) that Mentz was not the place where Printing was firſt invented, though the united force of the above authentic teſtimonies might ſeem to confirm its claim to that honour.—It may be nearer the truth, if we ſuppoſe (to apply the words of ULRICH HUTTEN a little differently from his intention) that HARLEIM was the *inventrix*, and *Mentz* the *alumna* of PRINTING; though the improvements made in the art by the latter were ſo very conſiderable, as to deſerve the name of a new invention. N.

Printing,

Printing, yet he is ſilent as to the introduction of it into England by the endeavours of that archbiſhop; nay, his giving the honour of the invention to Straſburg clearly ſhews that he knew nothing of the ſtory of Corſellis conveyed from Harleim, and that the record was not in being in his time. Palmer himſelf owns, "That it is not to be found there now; for that the late earl of Pembroke aſſured him, that he had employed a perſon for ſome time to ſearch for it, but in vain." (Hiſt. of Printing, p. 314.). On theſe grounds we may pronounce the record to be a forgery; though all the writers above-mentioned take pains to ſupport its credit, and call it an authentic piece. (See Contents, p. vi.)

Atkins, who by his manner of writing ſeems to have been *a bold and vain man*, might poſſibly be *the inventor*; for he had an intereſt in impoſing it upon the world, in order to confirm the argument of his book, that *Printing was of the Prerogative Royal*; in oppoſition to the *Company of Stationers*, with whom he was engaged in an expenſive ſuit of law, in defence of the *King's Patents*, under which he claimed *ſome excluſive powers of Printing*. For he tells us, p. 3, "That, upon conſidering the thing, he could not but think that a public perſon, more eminent than a mercer, and a public purſe, muſt needs be concerned in ſo public a good: and the more he conſidered, the more inquiſitive he was to find out the truth." So that he had formed his hypotheſis before he had found his record; which he publiſhed, he ſays, "as a friend

a friend to truth; not to ſuffer one man to be entitled to the worthy atchievements of another; and as a friend to himſelf, not to loſe one of his beſt arguments of entitling the King to this Art." But, if Atkins was not himſelf the contriver, he was impoſed upon at leaſt by ſome more crafty; who imagined that his intereſt in the cauſe, and the warmth that he ſhewed in proſecuting it, would induce him to ſwallow for genuine whatever was offered of the kind [K].

We

[K] On the other hand, is it likely that Mr. Atkins would dare to *forge* a record, to be laid before the king and council, and which his adverſaries, with whom he was at law, could diſprove?—(2.) He ſays he received this hiſtory from a perſon of honour, who was ſome time keeper of the Lambeth Library. It was eaſy to have confuted this evidence, if it was falſe, when he publiſhed it, Apr. 25, 1664.—(3.) John Bagford (who was born in England 1651, and might know Mr. Atkins, who died in 1677), in his Hiſtory of Printing at Oxford, blames thoſe who doubted of the authenticity of the Lambeth Mſ.; and tells us that he knew Sir John Birkenhead had an authentic copy of it, when in 1665 [which Bagford by ſome miſtake calls 1664, and is followed in it by Meerman] he was appointed by the houſe of commons to draw up a bill relating to the exerciſe of that art. This is confirmed by the Journals of that houſe, Friday, Oct. 27, 1665, vol. VIII. p. 622; where it is ordered that this Sir John Birkenhead ſhould carry the bill on that head to the houſe of lords, for their conſent.—The act was agreed to in the upper houſe on Tueſday Oct. 31, and received the royal aſſent on the ſame day; immediately after which, the parliament was prorogued. See Journals of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. XI.

We have now cleared our hands of the record; but the book ſtands firm, as a monument of the exerciſe

p. 700.—It is probable then that, after Mr. Atkins had publiſhed his book in April 1664, the parliament thought proper, the next year, to inquire into *the right of the* KING'S PREROGATIVE; and that Sir John Birkenhead took care to inſpect the original, then in the cuſtody of Archbiſhop Sheldon: and, finding it not ſufficient to prove what Mr. Atkins had cited it for, made no report of the Mſ. to the houſe; but only moved, that the former law ſhould be renewed. The Mſ. was probably never returned to the proper keeper of it; but was afterwards burnt in the fire of London, Sept. 13, 1666.—(4.) That Printing was practiſed at Oxford, was a prevailing opinion long before Atkins. Bryan Twyne, in his *Apologia pro Antiquitate Academiæ Oxonienſis*, publiſhed 1608, tells us, it is ſo delivered down in *ancient writings*; having heard probably of this Lambeth Mſ. And king Charles I, in his letters patent to the Univerſity of Oxford, March 5, in the eleventh of his reign, 1635, mentions Printing as brought to *Oxford* from abroad. As to what is objected, "that it is not likely that the preſs ſhould undergo a ten or eleven years ſleep, viz. from 1468 to 1479," it is probably urged without foundation. Corſellis might print ſeveral books without date or name of the place, as Ulric Zell did at Cologn, from 1467 to 1473, and from that time to 1494. Corſellis's name, it may be ſaid, appears not in any of his publications; nor does that of Joannes Peterſhemius. See MERRMAN, vol. I. p. 34; vol. II. p. 21—27, &c.

Further, the famous SHAKESPEARE, who was born in 1564, and died 1616, in the Second Part of Henry VI. Act

ercise of printing in Oxford six years older than any book of Caxton with date. The fact is strong, and what

Act. iv. Sc. 7, introduces the rebel *John Cade*, thus upbraiding Lord Treasurer Say: "Thou hast most traiterously corrupted the youth of the realm, in creating a grammar-school; and whereas before, our forefathers had no other book but the score and the tally, thou hast caused Printing to be used; and, contrary to the king, his crown, and dignity, thou hast built a paper-mill."—Whence now had Shakespeare this accusation against Lord Say? We are told in the Poetical Register, vol. II. p. 231. ed. Lond. 1724, that it was from Fabian, Pol. Vergil, Hall, Hollingshed, Grafton, Stow, Speed, &c. But not one of these ascribes Printing to the reign of Henry VI. On the contrary, Stow, in his Annals, printed at London, 1560, p. 686, gives it expressly to William Caxton, 1471. "The noble science of Printing was about this time found in Germany at Magunce, by one John Guthemburgus a knight. One Conradus an Almaine brought it into Rome: William Caxton of London mercer brought it into England about the yeare 1471, and first practised the same in the Abbie of St. Peter at Westminster; after which time it was likewise practised in the Abbies of St. Augustine at Canturburie, Saint Albons, and other monasteries of England." What then shall we say, that the above is an anachronism arbitrarily put into the mouth of an ignorant fellow out of Shakespeare's head? I could believe so, but that we have the record of Mr. Atkins confirming the same in K. Charles the Second's time. Shall we say, that Mr. Atkins borrowed the story from Sakespeare, and published it with some improvements of money laid out by Henry VI; from whence it

what in ordinary caſes paſſes for certain evidence of the age of books; but in this, there are ſuch contrary facts to balance it, and ſuch circumſtances to turn the

might be received by Charles II, as a prerogative of the crown? But this is improbable, ſince Shakeſpeare makes Lord Treaſurer SAY the inſtrument of importing it, of whom Mr. Atkins mentions not a word. Another difference there will ſtill be between Shakeſpeare and the Lambeth Mſ.; the Poet placing it before 1449, in which year Lord SAY was beheaded; the Mſ. between 1454 and 1459, when Bourchier was Archbiſhop. We muſt ſay then, that Lord SAY firſt laid the ſcheme, and ſent ſome one to Harleim, though without ſucceſs; but after ſome years it was attempted happily by Bourchier. And we muſt conclude, that as the generality of writers have overlooked the invention of Printing at Harleim with *wooden* types, and have aſcribed it to Mentz where *metal* types were firſt made uſe of; ſo in England they have paſſed by Corſellis (or the firſt *Oxford Printer*, whoever he was, ſee the note [P], p. 24), who printed with *wooden* types at Oxford, and only mentioned Caxton as the original artiſt who printed with *metal* types at Weſtminſter. See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. vii, viii.—It is ſtrange that the learned Commentators on our great Dramatic Poet, who are ſo minutely particular upon leſs important occaſions, ſhould every one of them, Dr. JOHNSON excepted, paſs by this curious paſſage, leaving it entirely unnoticed. And how has Dr. JOHNSON trifled, by ſlightly remarking, that "SHAKESPEARE is a little TOO EARLY with this accuſation!"—The great Critic had undertaken to decypher obſolete words, and inveſtigate unintelligible phraſes; but never, perhaps, beſtowed a thought on Caxton or Corſellis, on Mr. Atkins or the authenticity of the Lambeth Record. B. & N.

ſcale,

ſcale, that, to ſpeak my mind freely, I take the date in queſtion to have been falſified originally by the printer, either by deſign or miſtake, and an x to have been dropt or omitted in the age of its impreſſion.

Examples of the kind are common in the Hiſtory of Printing. I have obſerved ſeveral dates altered very artfully after publication, to give them the credit of greater antiquity. They have at Harleim, in large quarto, a tranſlation into Dutch of *Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum*, printed *anno* MCCCCXXXV, by Jacob Bellart: this they ſhew, to confirm their claim to the earlieſt printing, and deceive the unſkilful. But Mr. Bagford, who had ſeen another copy with a true date, diſcovered the cheat; by which the L had been eraſed ſo cunningly, that it was not eaſy to perceive it [L]. But, beſides the frauds of an after-contrivance, there are many falſe dates originally given by the printers; partly through deſign, to

[L] See Mr. Bagford's Papers.—Mr. Maittaire, Annal. Typogr. tom. I. p. 190, mentions an edition of this book at Cologn in MCCCCLXX. The copy which he had ſeen was in the earl of Oxford's library, and came afterwards into the hands of Mr. T. Oſborn; in whoſe Catalogues it frequently appeared, with the date MCCCCLXX. Mr. Meerman, who was convinced that this date muſt either be a miſtake or an impoſition, had the curioſity (when, in 1759, he reſided at London in a public capacity) to examine Mr. Oſborn's book; which proved to be the edition of MCCCCLXXXIII (which Mr. Maittaire has alſo taken notice of), with the four laſt numerals very artfully eraſed. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 59. N.

raiſe

raiſe the value of their works, but chiefly through negligence and blunder. There is a Bible at Augſburg, of the year 1449, where the two laſt figures are tranſpoſed, and ſhould ſtand thus, 1494: Chevillier (Orig. de l'Imprim. de Paris, c. v. p. 96.) mentions three more; one at Paris of 1443; another at Lyons, 1446; a third at Baſil, 1450; though Printing was not uſed in any of theſe places till many years after. Orlandi deſcribes three books with the like miſtake from Mentz: and Jo. Koelhoff, who firſt printed about the year 1470 at Cologn, has dated one of his books anno MCCCC. with a c omitted; and another, anno 1458; which Palmer (Hiſt. of Printing, p. 179) imputes to deſign, rather than miſtake [M].

But

[M] Mr. Meerman, after fixing the invention of Printing beyond a doubt *in the fifteenth century*, takes notice of a German tract, *von dem Cyrurgus*, 1397. This, he obſerves, and ſome other ſimilar inſtances, may beyond doubt be pronounced FORGERIES; and there will be little danger of a miſtake, if we extend this aſſertion to all books in general that have an earlier date than MCCCCLVII, when the *Pſalter* was publiſhed at Mentz, which is the firſt work that is known to have a date to it. See Maittaire, Annal. Typogr. tom. I. p. 2. Marchand, Hiſt. de l'Imprim. p. 113. Naudæus, Addit. à l'Hiſt. de Louis XI. p. 110.—Some writers have aſcribed the origin of Printing to the Eaſt, and affixed a much earlier period to its invention; particularly P. Jovius, Hiſt. lib. xiv. p. 226. ed. Florent. 1550, from whom Oſorius and many others have embraced the ſame opinion. But theſe have evidently confounded the European mode of PRINTING, with the *engraved tablets* which to this day are

But what is moſt to our point, is a book from the famous printer, Nicolas Jenſon; of which Mr. Maittaire gave the firſt notice, called Decor Puellarum; printed anno MCCCCLXI. All the other works of Jenſon were publiſhed from Venice between the years MCCCCLXX and MCCCCLXXX; which juſtly raiſed a ſuſpicion, that an x had been dropt from the date of this, which ought to be advanced ten years forward; ſince it was not credible, that ſo great a maſter of the art, who at once invented and perfected it, could lie ſo many years idle and unemployed. The ſuſpicion appeared to be well grounded, from an edition of Tully's Epiſtles at Venice, *the firſt work of another famed printer, John de Spira, anno* MCCCCLXIX [N]; who, in the four following verſes, at the end of the book,

uſed in China. The invention of theſe tablets has been aſcribed by many writers even to an earlier period than the commencement of the Chriſtian æra; but is with more probability aſſigned, by the very accurate PHIL. COUPLET, to the year 930. The *Hiſtoria Sinenſis* of ABDALLA, written in Perſic in 1317, ſpeaks of it as an art in very common uſe. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 16. 218, 219; vol. II. p. 186. N.

[N] And yet, in the Catalogue of the Harleian Library, vol. III. p. 321, a book is mentioned as printed at Venice a year before this of JOHN DE SPIRA, viz. *Fr. Maturantii, de componendis verſibus Hexametro et Pentametro, Opuſculum*, 1468, with the following remark: "This editon of MATURANTIUS is not taken notice of by any Author; and by "the date of MCCCCLXVIII it ſeems to be the *firſt* book "printed by ROTDOLT of Venice; as alſo the *firſt* book "printed at Venice with any date, except *Decor Puellarum*, "whoſe date I believe to be falſe." B. & N.

claims

claims the honour of being the firſt who had printed in that city:

" Primus in Adriaca formis impreſſit aënis
Urbe libros Spirâ genitus de ſtirpe Johannes.
In reliquis ſit quanta, vides, ſpes, lector, habenda,
Quum labor hic primus calamis ſuperaverit artem."

It is, I know, the more current opinion, confirmed by the teſtimony of contemporary writers, that *Jenſon was the firſt printer at Venice* [O]: But theſe verſes of John de Spira, publiſhed *at the time*, as well as *the place*, in which they both lived, and *in the face of his rival Jenſon*, without any contradiction from him, ſeem to have a weight too great to be overruled by any foreign evidence whatſoever.

But whilſt I am now writing, an unexpected inſtance is fallen into my hands, to the ſupport of my opinion; an *Inauguration Speech of the Woodwardian Profeſſor*, *Mr. Maſon*, juſt freſh from the preſs, with its date given ten years earlier than it ſhould have been, by the omiſſion of an x, viz. MDCCXXIV; and the very blunder exemplified in the laſt piece printed at Cambridge, which I ſuppoſe to have happened in the firſt from Oxford [P]. Theſe

[O] Maittaire, Annal. Typ. tom. I. p. 36, &c. It. Append. ad tom. I. p. 5, 6.

[P] The following curious remarks, on this paſſage of Dr. Middleton, appeared in The Weekly Miſcellany, Saturday, April 26, 1735, in a letter ſigned OXONIDES: " I think the learned author has ſufficiently expoſed the idle ſtory of FREDERICK CORSELLIS, and entirely concur with him

Theſe inſtances, with many more that might be collected, ſhew the poſſibility of my conjecture; and, for

him in rejecting it. But when he compliments CAXTON with the name of our Firſt Printer, notwithſtanding the authority of a book printed at *Oxford*, and dated in the year MCCCCLXVIII, I cannot go ſo far with him. We ſhould not pretend to ſet aſide the authority of *a plain date*, without very ſtrong and cogent reaſons; and I am afraid what the Doctor has in this caſe advanced will not appear, on examination, to carry that weight with it that he ſeems to imagine. There may be, and have been, miſtakes and forgeries in the date both of books and of records too; but this is never allowed as a reaſon for ſuſpecting ſuch as bear no mark of either. We cannot, from a blunder in the laſt book printed at Cambridge, infer the like blunder in the firſt book printed at Oxford. Beſides, the *type* uſed in this our Oxford edition ſeems to be no ſmall proof of its antiquity. It is the *German* letter, and very nearly the ſame with that uſed by FUST [who has been ſuppoſed to be] the firſt Printer; whereas CAXTON and ROOD uſe a quite different letter, ſomething between this *German* and our old *Engliſh* letter, which was ſoon after introduced by DE WORDE and PYNSON. Laſtly, the ſuppoſed year of this edition is much about the time that the printers at Mentz diſperſed, and carried the art of Printing with them to moſt parts of Europe. This circumſtance, joined to that of the letter, inclines me to think *that one of theſe printers might then come over to England, and follow his profeſſion at Oxford.* Theſe, I muſt own, are only conjectural proofs, nor can we expect any other in the preſent caſe. We find moſt points of antiquity involved in obſcurity; and, what is not

for the probability of it, the book itſelf affords ſufficient proof: For, not to inſiſt on, what is leſs material, the *neatneſs of the letter, and regularity of the page*, &c. above thoſe of Caxton; it has one mark, that ſeems to carry the matter beyond probable, and to make it even certain, viz. *the uſe of ſignatures*, or letters of the alphabet placed at the bottom of the page, to ſhew the ſequel of the page and leaves of each book: an improvement contrived for the direction of the bookbinders; which yet was not practiſed or invented at the time when this book is ſup-

a little ſurprizing, the Art of Printing, which has given light to moſt other things, hides its own head in darkneſs.—But our ingenious Diſſertator ſeems to think his proofs attended with more certainty. Let us then examine what he ſays: And firſt, the neatneſs of the letter, and the regularity of the page, prove, if any thing, the very reverſe of what the Doctor aſſerts. The art of Printing was almoſt in its infancy brought to perfection; but afterwards debaſed by later printers, who conſulted rather the cheapneſs, than the neatneſs of their work. Our learned Diſſertator cannot be unacquainted with the labours of FUST and JENSON. He muſt know, that though other printers may have printed more correctly, yet ſcarce any excell them, either in the neatneſs of the letter, or the regularity of the page. The ſame may be obſerved in our Engliſh printers. CAXTON and ROOD were indifferently good printers: DE WORDE and PYNSON were worſe; and thoſe that follow them moſt abominable. This our *anonymous Oxford Printer* excells them all; and for this very reaſon I ſhould judge him to be the moſt ancient of all." N.

poſed

poſed to be printed: for we find no ſignatures in the books of Fauſt or Schoeffer at Mentz, nor in the improved or beautiful impreſſions of John de Spira and Jenſon at Venice, till ſeveral years later. We have a book in our library, that ſeems to fix the very time of their invention, at leaſt in Venice; the place where the art itſelf received the greateſt improvements: *Baldi lectura ſuper Codic.* &c. printed by John de Colonia and *Jo. Manthen de Gherretzem, anno* MCCCCLXXIIII: it is a large and fair volume in folio, *without ſignatures*, till about the middle of the book, in which they are firſt introduced, and ſo continued forward: which makes it probable, that the firſt thought of them was ſuggeſted during the impreſſion; for we have likewiſe *Lectura Bartholi ſuper Codic.* &c. in two noble and beautiful volumes in folio, printed the year before at the ſame place, by Vindelin de Spira, without them: yet from this time forward they are generally found in all the works of the Venetian printers, and from them propagated to the other printers of Europe. They were uſed at Cologn, in 1475; at Paris, 1476; by Caxton, not before 1480: but if the diſcovery had been brought into England and practiſed at Oxford twelve years before, it is not probable that he would have printed ſo long at Weſtminſter without them [Q].

Mr.

[Q] Dr. Middleton is miſtaken in the time and place of the invention of ſignatures. They are to be found even in

Mr. Palmer indeed tells us, p. 54, 180, that Anthony Zarot was eſteemed the inventor of ſignatures; and

very ancient Mſſ. which the earlieſt printers very ſtudiouſly imitated; and they were even uſed in ſome editions from the office of Laurence Coſter (whence Corſellis came), which conſiſted of wooden cuts; as in *Figuræ typicæ et antitypicæ Novi Teſtamenti:* and in ſome editions with metal types, as in *Gaſp. Pergamenſis epiſtolæ*, publiſhed at Paris, without a date, but printed A. D. 1470; (Maittaire, Annal. vol. I. p. 25); and in *Mammetrectus*, printed by Helias de Llouffen, at Bern in Switzerland, 1470; and in *De Tondeli viſione*, at Antwerp, 1472. Venice, therefore, was not the place where they were firſt introduced.—They began to be uſed in Baldus, it ſeems, when the book was half finiſhed. The printer of that book might not know, or did not think, of the uſe of them before. See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 28; and Phil. Tranſ. vol. XXIII. N° 208. p. 1509.—OXONIDES ſays, "Our Diſſertator lays great ſtreſs on the uſe of ſignatures. But I am afraid no certain concluſion can be drawn either from the uſe or non-uſe of theſe leſſer improvements of Printing. They have in different places come in uſe at different times, and have not been continued regularly even at the ſame places. If Anthony Zarot uſed them at Milan in 1470, it is certain later printers there did not follow his example; and the like might happen alſo in England. But, what is more full to our purpoſe, we have in the Bodleian library an Æſop's Fables printed by Caxton. This is, I believe, the firſt book which has *the leaves numbered.* But yet this improvement, though more uſeful than that of the ſignatures, was diſuſed both by Caxton himſelf and other later printers in Eng-

and that they are found in a Terence printed by him at Milan in the year 1470, in which he firſt printed. I have not ſeen that Terence; and can only ſay, that I have obſerved the want of them in ſome later works of this, as well as of other excellent printers, of the ſame place. But, allowing them to be in the Terence, and Zarot the inventor, it confutes the date of our Oxford book as effectually, as if they were of later origin at Venice; as I had reaſon to imagine, from the teſtimony of all the books that I have hitherto met with.

What farther confirms my opinion is, that, from the time of the pretended date of this book, anno 1468, we have no other fruit or production from the preſs at Oxford for eleven years next following; and it cannot be imagined that a preſs, eſtabliſhed with ſo much pains and expence, could be ſuffered to be ſo long idle and uſeleſs [R]: whereas, if my conjecture be admitted,

land. It is therefore not at all ſurprizing (if true) that the ſignatures, though invented by our Oxford Printer, might not immediately come into general uſe. And conſequently, this particular carries with it no ſuch certain or effectual confutation as our Diſſertator boaſts of." B. & N.

[R] To this it may be anſwered, in the words of Oxonides: "1ſt, That his books may have been loſt. Our firſt printers, in thoſe days of ignorance, met with but ſmall encouragement: they printed but few books, and but few copies of thoſe books. In after-times, when the ſame books were re-printed more correctly, thoſe firſt editions, which

admitted, all the difficulties, that ſeem inſuperable and inconſiſtent with the ſuppoſed æra of Printing there, will vaniſh at once: for, allowing the book to have been printed ten years later, anno 1478; then the uſe of ſignatures can be no objection: a foreign printer might import them; Caxton take them up from him; and the courſe of Printing and ſequel of books publiſhed from Oxford will proceed regularly:

Expoſicio Sancti Jeronimi in Simbolum Apoſtolorum. MCCCCLXXVIII. Oxonie, 1478
Leonardi Aretini in Ariſtot. Ethic. Comment. ib. 1479
Ægidius de Roma, &c. de peccato originali, ib. 1479

which were not as yet become curioſities, were put to common uſes. This is the reaſon that we have ſo few remains of our firſt printers. We have only four books of Theodorick Rood, who ſeems by his own verſes to have been a very celebrated Printer. Of John Lettou, William de Machlinia, and the School-maſter of St. Alban's, we have ſcarce any remains. If this be conſidered, it will not appear *impoſſible* that our Printer ſhould have followed his buſineſs from 1468 to 1479, and yet Time have deſtroyed his intermediate works. But, 2dly, we may account ſtill another way for this diſtance of time, without altering the date. The Civil Wars broke out in 1469: this might probably oblige our Oxford Printer to ſhut up his preſs; and both himſelf and his Readers be otherwiſe engaged. If this were the caſe, he might not return to his work again till 1479; and the next year, not meeting with that encouragement he deſerved, he might remove to ſome other country with his types." N.

Guido

Guido de Columna de Hiſtoria Trojana, per T. R. ib. 1480

Alexandri ab Hales, &c. expoſicio ſuper 3 Librum de Animâ, per me Theod. Rood. ib. 1481

Franc. Aretini Oratoris Phalaridis Epiſtolarum e Græco in Latinum Verſio. Hoc opuſculum in Alma Univerſitate Oxoniæ, a natali Chriſtiano ducenteſima & nonageſima ſeptima Olympiade feliciter impreſſum eſt. That is, 1485

" Hoc teodoricus Rood quem Collonia miſit
Sanguine Germanus nobile p̃ſſit [1] opus.
Atque ſibi ſocius Thomas fuit Anglicus Hunté
Dii dent ut Venetos exuperare queant!
Quam Jenſon Venetos docuit Vir Gallicus artem
Ingenio didicit terra Britanna ſuo.
Celatos Veneti nobis tranſmittere libros
Cedite, nos aliis vendimus. O Veneti
Que fuerat vobis ars primum nota Latini
Eſt eadem nobis ipſa reperta prẽs [2].
Quamvis ſẽctos [3] toto canit orbe Britannos
Virgilius placz [4] his lingua Latina tamen [S]."

[1] preſſit [2] premens [3] ſejunctos [4] placet

Theſe

[S] The only copy of this book, that I have heard of, is in the poſſeſſion of the rev. Mr. Randolph of Deal; and the firſt notice of it was communicated by the rev. Mr. Lewis of Mergate; who, having been informed that I had drawn up this little Diſſertation, very kindly offered me the uſe of his notes and papers, that he had collected with great pains,

on

Theſe are all the books printed at Oxford before the year 1500, that we have hitherto any certain notice of. I have ſet down the colophon and verſes of the laſt, becauſe they have ſomething curious and hiſtorical in them. I had ſeen one inſtance before of the date of a book computed by OLYMPIADS; *Auſonii Epigrammatῶn libri*, &c.; printed at Venice, anno 1472, with this deſignation of the year at the end; "A nativitate Chriſti ducenteſimæ nonageſimæ quintæ Olympiadis anno 11;" (Maittaire, Annal. Typ. p. 98, not. [h];) where the printer, as in the preſent caſe, follows the common miſtake, both of the ancients and moderns, of taking the OLYMPIAD for a term of FIVE YEARS compleat; whereas it really included but FOUR, and was celebrated every FIFTH; as the LUSTRUM likewiſe of the Romans [T]. In our Oxford

on *the Hiſtory and Progreſs of Engliſh Printing to the End of Queen Eliſabeth's Reign.* From the peruſal of which, though I found no reaſon to make any alteration of moment in the preſent Treatiſe, yet I had a pleaſure to obſerve a perfect agreement between us in the chief points on which my argument turns, and to find my own opinion confirmed by the judgment of ſo able an antiquary.

Dr. MIDDLETON.

[T] An *Olympiad* was undoubtedly the ſpace of FOUR years compleat, and a *Luſtrum* of FIVE. But many of the moderns have confounded them, by including each within *four* years. Selden, De Jure Nat. & Gentium, l. iii. p. 360, ed. 1725, obſerves the ſame; but takes notice that the miſ-

take

Oxford book, the year of the Olympiad is not diſtinguiſhed as in that of Venice; ſo that it might poſſibly take was common to both terms, each of them being ſometimes reckoned as FOUR YEARS, ſometimes as FIVE: "Perſimilem in luſtris & olympiadibus, quibus nunc *quinquennia*, nunc *quadrienuia* tribuuntur, ſupputandi rationem nemo neſcit."

Noris takes notice that Ovid *confounds* the ſpace of the *Olympiad* with the *Luſtrum*, Triſt. IV. x. 95. "Ovidius, ſcribens ſe anno ætatis quinquageſimo exacto, in exilium deportatum, ait,

"Poſtque meos ortus Piſæâ vinctus olivâ
Abſtulerat decies præmia victor eques;"

ubi Piſæorum quadriennes Olympiades cum Romanis Luſtris confundit." Cenotaph. Piſan. p. 2. ed. 1681.

On the other hand, a *Luſtrum* is ſuppoſed to contain only FOUR years, by H. Glareanus in Chronologia Dion. Halicarn. p. 759, ed. Sylburg. and by Eraſmus Schmidius in his Prolegomena ad Pindarum, p. 15: "Et ab hoc annorum quatuor completorum circuitu etiam τετραετηρὶς nominabatur, plane ut apud Romanos LUSTRUM, quod et ipſum erat *quatuor* annorum completorum ſpatium, ubi *quarto* quoque exacto anno populus Romanus luſtrabatur."

The *Luſtrum* is ſuppoſed to have contained only *four* years in Pliny, N. H. ii. 47: "Et eſt principium Luſtri ejus ſemper intercalari anno Caniculæ ortu." But he applies the word in a borrowed ſenſe, to expreſs not only the periodical returns, but the cleanſing office of the winds, in that reſpect like the *Luſtrum*.

But the proper ſenſe of theſe words among the ancients was, that an *Olympiad* ſignified FOUR years, and

poſſibly be printed ſomewhat earlier, and nearer to the reſt in order of time: but, as the ſeventh verſe ſeems to refer

a *Luſtrum* FIVE. The firſt is proved by demonſtrable authority, becauſe the Grecians inſerted their intercalary month of XLV days after three years of 354 days; and appointed theſe games *on the fourth year*, for the regular notoriety of the fact. Blondel, Rom. Cal. liv. II. c. 4; and Prid. Connect. part I. book v. p. 222. ed. fol.

There are other authorities without number: Ὀλυμπιὰς πληρῶται καὶ τέτταρας χρόνους, Diod. Sic. 44. A. ed. Rhodom.; and no one ever read of above the *fourth* year of the I, II, III, IV, or any other Olympiad. But this period of an OLYMPIAD Dr. MIDDLETON allows.

That the LUSTRUM contained *five* years is clear, I think, from undoubted teſtimony: in vain elſe would Horace have told the girl ſhe need not ſhun him as being too rampant, ſince he was arrived at the *eighth* Luſtrum, which ſurely is more probably at XL years of age than XXXII:

" Fuge ſuſpicari,
Cujus OCTAVUM trepidavit ætas
Claudere LUSTRUM." Lib. II. Od. iv. 22.

So again, from Auguſtus's conqueſt of Alexandria, U. C. 724. to his victory over the Rhœti, U. C. 739 (as Dio relates, lib. LIV.), Horace deſcribes

" Fortuna LUSTRO proſpera TERTIO
Belli ſecundos reddidit exitus." Lib. IV. Od. xiv. 37.

Where Acron indeed ſuppoſes the LUSTRUM to be a term of only FOUR years, reckoning XII years from Auguſtus's firſt conſulſhip to the end of the civil wars; in which he is followed, as we obſerved before, by Glareanus.—But, whichſoever it is, *proſe writers* are expreſs for FIVE years. Varro ſays, " Luſtrum nominatum tempus *quinquennale* à luendo,

i. e.

refer to the ſtatute 1 Richard III, prohibiting the Italians from importing and ſelling their wares in England

i. e. ſolvendo, quod *quinto* quoque *anno* vectigalia et tributa per cenſores ſolvebantur."—See likewiſe Horace, l. IV. Od. i. ver. 6.

It muſt be owned, Antonius Nebriſſenſis, in his Quinquagena, c. xx. printed in the Critici Sacri, tom. IX. ed. Amſt. labours to prove a *Luſtrum* to be only FOUR years, from two or three paſſages in the Roman poets, who ſometimes take the liberty of ſo applying it; but with much better authority is it fixed to be FIVE years by Jo. Caſtellio, in his Variæ Lectiones, c. xix. See Fax Artium, tom. IV. c. 19.

Dr. Middleton reſumes this ſubject in his *Roman Senate*, A. D. 1747, part I. p. 107, 8vo. [vol. III. p. 429, of the 4to edition of his works]; and ſays, that "as the cenſus was ſuppoſed to be celebrated every *fifth* year; and as it was accompanied always by a *Luſtration* of the people; ſo the word *Luſtrum* has *conſtantly been taken, both by ancients and moderns*, for a term of FIVE years." Yet we ſhall find no good ground for fixing ſo preciſe a ſignification to it; but, on the contrary, that the Cenſus and Luſtrum were, for the moſt part, held irregularly and uncertainly, at very different and various intervals of time, as the particular exigencies of the ſtate required."—But, 1. We have ſeen it was "NOT conſtantly taken for a term of FIVE years both by ancients and moderns;" ſo that this ſenſe of FOUR years is not SOLELY Dr. MIDDLETON's, though he will ſuffer no one elſe to ſhare in the honour of it. 2. If it was *conſtantly* taken ſo both by *ancients* and *moderns*, one would think *that* ſhould determine the period; though the Romans might, for particular exigencies of ſtate, vary from the preſcribed

England by retail, &c. excepting books written or printed; which act paſſed in 1483; ſo it could not be printed before that year. The third verſe reſcues from oblivion the name of an Engliſh printer, THOMAS HUNTE, not mentioned before by any of our Engliſh writers, nor diſcovered in any other book. But what I take for the moſt remarkable, and lay the greateſt ſtreſs upon, is, that, in the ſixth verſe, "the art and uſe of Printing is affirmed to have been firſt ſet on foot and practiſed in this iſland by our own countrymen [U]:" which muſt conſequently have

time of the ceremony. 3. Mr. Hooke has ſhewn (Obſervations, in Anſwer to L'Abbé Vertot, &c. p. 153, 157), "that there is good reaſon to believe, the ſeven firſt Luſtrums, after the eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth, were regularly held every *five* years: conſequently that there was ſufficient ground in FACT for fixing the term of FIVE years to the word *Luſtrum*.—For the firſt SEVEN Luſtrums, under the conſuls, will carry us through an interval of exactly *thirty five* years, from A. U. 245."—The Doctor had no occaſion to have laboured this point, here at leaſt; but his plenary knowledge in the Roman conſtitution would not ſuffer him to bear any contradiction in it. B.

[U] We ſhall make no apology for introducing one more remark from OXONIDES: "Dr. Middleton's tranſlation of the ſixth verſe is a ſenſe, I believe, ROOD never thought of. His verſes ſeem rather deſigned to extol *his own preſs* than that of Caxton; and the meaning I take to be no more than this, that the Art of Printing, for which the Venetians, and particularly Jenſon, had been ſo famous, was now

have a reference to CAXTON; who has no rival of this country to diſpute the honour with him. And ſo we are furniſhed at laſt, from Oxford itſelf, with a teſtimony that overthrows the date of their own book.

THEODORIC ROOD, we ſee, came from Cologn (where Caxton had reſided many years, and inſtructed himſelf in the Art of Printing) in 1471: and, being ſo well acquainted with the place, and particularly the printers of it, might probably be the inſtrument of bringing over this or any other printer a year or two before (if there really was any ſuch) to be

now practiſed with equal ſucceſs in England. Our Diſſertator's quotation from CAXTON will prove but little, unleſs he can ſhew, that no printer, at any place, ever talked of the *novelty* of his art, without being the firſt importer of it. As to his citations from other later writers, who mention CAXTON as our firſt printer, it may be ſufficient to anſwer in his own words, that "it is very unſafe to truſt to common hiſtory, and neceſſary to recur to original teſtimonies, if we would know the ſtate of facts with exactneſs." Our ingenious Author has himſelf detected ſeveral miſtakes, which our writers have univerſally fallen into, and taken up from each other. If we conſider that our Oxford Printer met with very ſmall encouragement, printed probably but few books, and did not put his name to thoſe, it is no wonder that his name and memory ſhould be ſoon loſt; nor will it be ſurprizing that CAXTON ſhould run away with the credit of being the firſt printer here, who lived many years in great repute, printed a very conſiderable number of books, and flouriſhed in the ſunſhine of the court!" N.

employed

employed at Oxford; and the obſcure tradition of this fact give riſe to the FICTION of the RECORD. But, however this be, it ſeems pretty clear that Caxton's being ſo well known at Cologn, and his ſetting up a preſs at home immediately after his return from that place, which could hardly be a ſecret to Rood, muſt be the ground of the compliment paid to our country, and the very thing referred to in the verſes [X].

[X] The whole ſcope of the above colophon ſhews that the words of the ſixth verſe are not to be taken in too literal a ſenſe: "Jenſius, a Frenchman, taught the art of Printing to the Venetians: but Britain learnt it from her own ingenuity." Neither of theſe circumſtances is ſtrictly true. Jenſon, who began printing at Venice A. D. MCCCCLXX, was preceded *two* years by Joannes de Spira; who ſays himſelf, in the edition of Cicero's Epiſtles ad Familiares, MCCCCLXIX, that "he firſt taught it to the Venetians:" (though the book above referred to, p. 23, note [N], may ſeem to affect his claim). Whether Caxton or Corſellis brought Printing into Britain, the art was learnt abroad. The ſenſe then of the poet ſeems to be, that as Jenſon, a foreigner, had brought Printing to great prefection at Venice, the Engliſh were indebted to a native for ſimilar improvements. To denote this excellence, he calls the impreſſion of Thomas Hunte *celatos libros*, books ENGRAVED; uſing that term to ſet his Printing in an advantageous light, who, with his partner Rood, would in time excell the Venetians. A like compliment is paid by Nicolas Gupalitinus to Clemens Patavinus, in the preface to an edition of Meſuas, *De Medicinis univerſalibus*, Ven. MCCCCLXXI. See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 35, 36. B. & N.

We

We have one book more, without the name of printer or place, which, from the compariſon of the types with thoſe of Rood, is judged to be of his printing, and added to the catalogue of his works by Mr. Lewis in his Mſ. Papers, viz.

" Expoſicio ac moraliſacio tertij capituli trenorum Iheremie prophete. Fol. MCCCCLXXXII."

And at the end of the index,

" Explicit tabula ſuper opus trenorum compilatum per Johann. Latteburij ordinis minorum."

But the identity of the letter in different books, though a probable argument, is not always a certain one for the identity of the preſs.

Beſides this early Printing at Oxford, *our Library* gives us proof of the uſe of it likewiſe, about the ſame time, in the city of London, much earlier than our writers had imagined, with the names of two of *the firſt printers* there, that none of them take notice of; JOHN LETTOU and WILL. DE MACHLINIA. Of the firſt, we have, " Jacobus de Valencia in Pſalterium, &c. excuſ. in civitate Londonienſi, ad expenſas Johannis Wilcock, per me Johannem Lettou MCCCCLXXXI. fol." Of the ſecond; " Speculum Chriſtiani, &c." and at the end; " Iſte libellus impreſſus eſt in opulentiſſima Civitate Londoniarum per Willelmum Machlinia, ad inſtanciam necnon expenſas Henrici Urankerberg mercatoris." quarto: without date, but in a very coarſe and Gothic character, more rude than Caxton's: and from both theſe printers in partnerſhip, we have the firſt edi-

tion of the famous *Littleton's Tenures*; printed at London, in a ſmall folio, without date; which his great Commentator, the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke, had not ſeen or heard of: for, in the Preface to his Inſtitutes, he ſays, "That this work was not publiſhed in print either by Judge Littleton himſelf or Richard his ſon; and that the firſt edition, that he had ſeen, was printed at Roan in Normandy, ad inſtanciam Richardi Pynſon, printer to King Henry VIII." We have this edition alſo in our Library, but it is undoubtedly later by thirty or forty years than the other we are ſpeaking of; which, as far as we may collect from the time noted above, in which Joh. Lettou printed, was probably publiſhed, or at leaſt put to the preſs, by the author himſelf, who died in 1481.

Whilſt Printing was thus going forward at Weſtminſter, Oxford, and London, there was a preſs alſo employed at St. Alban's, by the *Schoolmaſter* of that place; whoſe name has not had the fortune to be tranſmitted to us, though he is mentioned as a man of merit, and friend of Caxton. He had drawn up, and printed in Engliſh, a Book of Chronicles, commonly called "Fructus Temporum, anno 1483;" which I have never been able to meet with: but in a later edition of it, after his death, there is the following colophon:

"Here endyth this preſent cronycle of Englond with the frute of tymes, compiled in a booke and enprynted by one ſometyme Scolemayſter of St. Albons,

bons, on whoos ſoule God have mercy, and newly enprynted at Weſtmeſtre by Wynkyn de Wörde, MCCCCLXXXXVII.

It was the ſame ſchoolmaſter, without doubt, who printed three years before in Latin:

"Rhetorica nova Fratris Laurentij Gulielmi de Soana ordinis minorum, compilata in alma Univerſitate Cantabrigiæ ann. 1478, impreſſa apud Villam Sti Albani. MCCCCLXXX."

This was once in biſhop More's library, being deſcribed in the printed catalogue of his other rare books [Y]: but it is now loſt, or ſtolen from that noble collection; which, by an example of munificence ſcarce to be paralleled, was given to our Univerſity by his Majeſty King George the Firſt, and will remain a perpetual monument of the great mind and publick ſpirit of that Prince.

The ſame book is mentioned by Mr. Strype among thoſe given by archbiſhop Parker to Corpus-Chriſti college in Cambridge; but the words, *compilata in Univerſitate Cantabrigiæ*, have drawn this learned Antiquary into the miſtake of imagining, that it was printed alſo that year at *our* Univerſity, and of doing us the honour of remarking upon it, "So ancient was Printing in Cambridge." Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 519.

We have one piece however in our library from this preſs, in a ſmall folio, and at the end of it the following advertiſement:

[Y] Catal. Libror. Manuſcriptor. Angl. Oxon. p. 391.

" There in thys boke afore ar contenyt the bokys of haukyng and huntyng with other plefuris dyverſe. And alſo of coote armuris a nobull werke. And here now endyth the boke of blaſyng of armys, tranſlatyt and complyt togedyr at Saynt Albons MCCCCLXXXVI."

After the firſt treatiſe of hawking and hunting, &c. is added, " Explicit Dam Julyans Barnes in her boke of huntyng." Though her name be ſubjoined to the firſt part only, yet the whole is conſtantly aſcribed to her, and paſſes for her work. She was of a noble family, ſiſter to Richard lord Berners of Eſſex, and prioreſs of Sopwell nunnery near St. Alban's: ſhe lived about the year 1460, and is celebrated by Leland and other writers for her uncommon learning and accompliſhments, under the name of Juliana Berners.

I ſhall now return to Mr. CAXTON, and ſtate as briefly as I can the poſitive evidence that remains of his being the firſt printer of this kingdom; for what I have already alledged is chiefly negative or circumſtantial. And here, as I hinted at ſetting out, all our writers before the Reſtoration, who mention the introduction of the art amongſt us, give him the credit of it, without any contradiction or variation. Stowe, in his Survey of London, ſpeaking of the 37th year of Henry VI, or 1458, ſays, " The noble Science of Printing was about this time found at Magunce by John Guttemberg, a knight; and WILLIAM CAXTON of London, mercer, brought it into England about the

the year 1471, and firſt practiſed the ſame in the abbey of Weſtminſter." Truſſel gives the ſame account in the Hiſtory of Henry VI; and Sir Richard Baker in his Chronicle: and Mr. Howell, in his Londinopolis, deſcribes the place where the Abbot of Weſtminſter ſet up the firſt preſs for Caxton's uſe, in the Almonry or Ambry. But above all, the famous Joh. Leland, Library-keeper to Henry VIII, who by way of honour had the title of *The Antiquary*, and lived near to Caxton's own time, expreſsly calls him "The firſt Printer of England" (De Script. Brit. p. 480), and ſpeaks honourably of his works: and as he had ſpent ſome time in Oxford, after having firſt ſtudied and taken a degree at Cambridge, he could hardly be ignorant of the Origin and Hiſtory of Printing in that Univerſity [Z]. I cannot forbear

[Z] Leland calls Caxton, *The firſt Printer of England*; meaning, that he was the firſt who practiſed that art with *fixt Types*, and conſequently firſt brought it to perfection; and this is not inconſiſtent with Corſellis's having printed earlier at Oxford with *ſeparate cut Types in Wood*, which was the only method he had learnt at Harleim. In like manner, the epitaph on THEODORIC MARTENS, who practiſed this art at Aloſt above ſixty years, and died May 28, 1534, aged more than eighty, deſcribes HIM as the *Inventor* of Printing: "Qui artem characterizandi è Superiori Germania, Galliaque, in Inferiorem hanc Germaniam tranſtulit;" that is, *on metal types*, which were univerſally uſed in Germany and Gaul when Martens was a young man, and were ſtyled, by way of eminence, *ars impreſſoria*, or *characterizandi*. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 97, 98. vol. II. p. 34. N.

adding, for the ſake of a name ſo celebrated, the more modern teſtimony of Mr. Henry Wharton, (Append. ad Cave, Hiſt. Liter. p. 49;) who affirms "Caxton to have been the firſt that imported the Art of Printing into this kingdom." On whoſe authority, I imagine, the no leſs celebrated M. Du Pin ſtyles him likewiſe the firſt printer of England. (Eccleſ. Hiſt. Cent. XIV. p. 71. ed. Engl.).

To the atteſtation of our hiſtorians, who are clear in favour of Caxton, and quite ſilent concerning an earlier preſs at Oxford, the works of Caxton himſelf add great confirmation: the *rudeneſs of the letter*; *irregularity of the page*; *want of ſignatures*; *initial letters*, &c. in his firſt impreſſions, give a prejudice at ſight of their being the firſt productions of the art amongſt us. But, beſides theſe circumſtances, I have taken notice of a paſſage in one of his books, (Recule, &c. in the end of the third book), that amounts in a manner to a direct teſtimony of it. "Thus end I this book, &c. and for as moche as in wrytyng of the ſame my penne is worn, myn hande wery, and myn eyen dimmed with overmoche lokyng on the whit paper—and that age crepeth on me dayly—and alſo becauſe I have promyſed to dyverce gentilmen and to my frendes to addreſſe to hem as haſtely as I might this ſayd book: Therefore I have practyſed, and lerned at my grete charge and diſpenſe to ordeyne this ſayd book in prynte after the maner and forme as ye may here ſe, and is not wreton with penne and ynke as other bokes ben to thende that every

every man may have them attones, for all the bookes of this ſtorye, named, the Recule of the hiſtoryes of Troyes, thus empryntid as ye here ſee, were begonne in oon day and alſo finiſhed in oon day, &c." Now this is the very *ſtyle and language of the firſt Printers*, as every body knows, who has been at all converſant with old books. Fauſt and Schoeffer, the inventors, ſet the example in their firſt works from Mentz; by advertiſing the publick at the end of each, "That they were not drawn or written by a pen (as all books had been before), but made by a new art and invention of printing, or ſtamping them by characters or types of metal ſet in forms." In imitation of whom, the ſucceeding printers, in moſt cities of Europe, where the art was new, generally gave the like advertiſement; as we may ſee from Venice, Rome, Naples, Verona, Baſil, Augſburg, Louvain, &c. juſt as our Caxton, in the inſtance above.

In Pliny's Natural Hiſtory, printed at Venice, we have the following verſes:

"Quem modo tam rarum cupiens vix lector haberet;
Quiq; etiam fractus pœne legendus eram:
Reſtituit Venetis me nuper Spira Johannes;
Exſcripſitq; libros ære notante meos.
Ferla manus quondam, moneo, calamuſq; quieſcat:
Namq; labor ſtudio ceſſit & ingenio. MCCCCLXVIIII."

In a Spaniſh hiſtory of Rodericus Santius, printed at Rome:

"De mandato R. P. D. Roderici Epiſcopi Palentini Auctoris hujus libri, ego UDALRICUS GALLUS ſine calamo aut pennis eund. librum impreſſi."

At

At the end of Cicero's Philippic Orations:

" Anſer Tarpeii cuſtos Jovis, unde, quod alis
Conſtreperes, Gallus decidit; Ultor adeſt
Uldricus Gallus: ne quem poſcantur in uſum,
Edocuit pennis nil opus eſſe tuis.
Imprimit ille die, quantum non ſcribitur anno.
Ingenio, haud noceas, omnia vincit homo."

In Euſebius's Chronicon, printed in Latin at Milan:

" Omnibus ut pateant, tabulis impreſſit ahenis
Utile Lavania gente Philippus opus.
Hactenus hoc toto rarum fuit orbe volumen,
Quod vix, qui ferret tædia, ſcriptor erat.
Nunc ope Lavaniæ numeroſa volumina noſtri
Ære perexiguo qualibet urbe legunt."

And as this is a ſtrong proof of his being *our firſt Printer*; ſo it is a probable one, that this very book was *the Firſt* of his printing. I have never ſeen the *Liber Feſtialis*, a book without date, which Mr. Palmer (Hiſt. of Printing, p. 340), takes for *his firſt*: but the reaſons aſſigned for it ſeem to agree full as well to the Recule of the Hiſtories of Troy: and, had he met with this perfect in the end of the third book, he would probably have been of another mind. Caxton had finiſhed the tranſlation of the two firſt books at Colegn in 1471: and, having then good leiſure, reſolved to tranſlate the third at the ſame place (Recule, &c. end of the ſecond book); in the end of which, we have the paſſage recited above.

above. Now, in his other books tranſlated, as this was, from the French, he commonly marks the preciſe time of his entering on the tranſlation; of his finiſhing it; and of his putting it afterwards into the preſs: which uſed to follow each other with little or no intermiſſion, and were generally compleated within the compaſs of a few months. So that in the preſent caſe, after he had finiſhed the tranſlation, which muſt be in, or ſoon after, the year 1471, it is not likely that he would delay the impreſſion longer than was neceſſary for the preparing of his materials; eſpecially as he was engaged by promiſe to his friends, who ſeem to have been preſſing and in haſte, to deliver copies of it to them as ſoon as poſſible.

But as in the caſe of the *Firſt Printer*, ſo in this of his *Firſt Work*, we have a teſtimony alſo from himſelf in favour of this book: for I have obſerved that, in the recital of his works, he mentions it the firſt in order, before "the Book of Cheſſe," which ſeems to be a good argument of its being actually *the firſt*. "Whan I had—accompliſhed dyvers werkys and hyſtorys tranſlated out of frenſhe into engliſhe at the requeſte of certayn lordes ladyes and gentylmen, as the Recuyel of the Hiſtoryes of Troye, the Book of Cheſſe, the Hiſtorye of Jaſon, the Hiſtorye of the Mirrour of the World—I have ſubmyſed myſelf to tranſlate into engliſhe the Legende of Sayntes, called Legenda Aurea in latyn—and Wylyam Erle of Arondel deſyred me—and promyſed to take a reſonable quantyte of them—ſente to me a

worſhipful gentylman—promyſing that my ſayd lord ſhould duryng my lyf geve and graunt to me a yerely fee, that is to note, a buck in ſommer and a doo in wynter, &c." (Maittaire, Supplem. ad Tom. I. Annal. p. 440, not. 4.).

All this, added to the common marks of earlier antiquity, which are more obſervable in this than in any other of his books that I have yet ſeen, viz. *the rudeneſs of the letter*; the *incorrectneſs of the language*; and the *greater mixture of French words*, than in his later pieces; makes me conclude it to be his *firſt work*; executed when he came freſh from a long reſidence in foreign parts. Nay, there are ſome circumſtances to make us believe, that it was actually printed abroad at Cologn, where he finiſhed the tranſlation, and where he had been *practiſing and learning the Art:* for, after the account given above, of his having learnt to print, he immediately adds, "Whiche book I have preſented to my ſayd redoubtid lady Margrete, Ducheſſe of Burgoyne, &c. and ſhe hath well acceptid hit, and largely rewarded me, &c." which ſeems to imply his continuance abroad till after the impreſſion, as well as the tranſlation of the book [AA]. The conjecture is much ſtrengthened by another fact atteſted of him; That he did really print at Cologn the firſt edition of "Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum," in Latin:

[AA] It is not ſaid, or ſuppoſed, that Caxton came over with Corſellis, though he was an aſſiſtant with Turnour in getting him off. See above, p. 4. B.

which

which is affirmed by Wynkyn de Worde, in an Engliſh edition of the ſame book, in the following lines [BB]:

"And alſo of your charyte beare in remembraunce
The ſoule of William Caxton firſt printer of this boke,
In laten tongue at Colèyn himſelf to advaunce,
That every well diſpoſyd man may thereon loke."

I have never ſeen, or met with any one who has ſeen, this *Latin* edition of Bartholomæus by Caxton. It is certain that the ſame book was printed at Cologn by Jo. Koelholf, and the firſt that appears of his printing, in the year 1470 [CC], whilſt Caxton was at the place, and buſying himſelf in the art: and, if we ſuppoſe him to have been the encourager and promoter of the work, or to have furniſhed the expence of it, he might poſſibly on that account be conſidered at home as the author of it.

It is now time to make an end, leſt I be cenſured for ſpending too much pains on an argument ſo inconſiderable; where my only view is, to ſet right

[BB] Maittaire, Annal. Append. ad Tom. I. p. 31.

[CC] Ibid. p. 296.—This ſuppoſition is entirely overthrown by an undoubted proof of the date MCCCCLXX, in the copy Dr. MIDDLETON refers to, having been altered from MCCCCLXXXIII, by an eraſure. See Note [L], p. 21. It is however extremely probable, from the verſes of Wynkin de Worde, that the *firſt edition* of this book was printed by Caxton at Cologn, without the name of place or printer. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 59, 60. N.

ſome little points of hiſtory, that had been falſely or negligently treated by our writers, to which the courſe of my ſtudies and employment engaged me to pay ſome attention: and, above all, to do a piece of juſtice to the memory of our worthy countryman WILLIAM CAXTON; nor ſuffer him to be robbed of the glory, ſo clearly due to him, of having *firſt imported into this kingdom* an art of great uſe and benefit to mankind: a kind of merit, that, in the ſenſe of all nations, gives the beſt title to true praiſe, and the beſt claim to be commemorated with honour to poſterity: and it ought to be inſcribed on his monument, what I find declared of another printer, Bartholomæus Bottonus of Reggio; PRIMUS EGO IN PATRIA MODO CHARTAS ÆRE SIGNAVI, ET NOVUS BIBLIOPOLA FUI, &c. (Maittaire, Append. ad tom. I. p. 432. in not.)

He had been bred very reputably in the way of trade, and ſerved an apprenticeſhip to one Robert Large, a mercer; who, after having been ſheriff and lord mayor of London, died in the year 1441, and left by will, as may be ſeen in the Prerogative-office, XXIIII marks to his apprentice WILLIAM CAXTON: a conſiderable legacy in thoſe days, and an early teſtimonial of his good character and integrity.

From the time of his maſter's death, he ſpent the following thirty years beyond ſea, in the buſineſs of merchandize: where, in the year 1464, we find him employed by Edward IV, in a publick and honourable negotiation, jointly with one Richard Whitehill, eſq; to tranſact and conclude a treaty of commerce between

between the king and his brother-in-law the duke of Burgundy, to whom Flanders belonged. The commiſſion ſtyles them, "Ambaſſiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios, & Deputatos ſpeciales;" and gives to both or either of them full powers to treat, &c. [DD].

Whoever turns over his printed works, muſt contract a reſpect for him, and be convinced that he preſerved the ſame character through life, of an honeſt, modeſt man; greatly induſtrious to do good to his country, to the beſt of his abilities, by ſpreading among the people ſuch books as he thought uſeful to religion and good-manners, which were chiefly tranſlated from the French. The novelty and uſefulneſs of his art recommended him to the ſpecial notice and favour of the great; under whoſe protection, and at whoſe expence, the greateſt part of his works were publiſhed. Some of them are addreſſed to king Edward the Fourth; his brother the Duke of Clarence; and their ſiſter the Dutcheſs of Burgundy; in whoſe ſervice and pay he lived many years, before he began to print; as he oft acknowledges with great gratitude. He printed likewiſe for the uſe, and by the expreſs order, of Henry the Seventh; his ſon Prince Arthur; and many of the principal nobility and gentry of that age: all which confirms the notion of his being *the firſt Printer*; for he would hardly have been ſo much careſſed and employed, had there been an earlier and abler artiſt all the while at Ox-

[DD] Rymer, Fœd. tom. XI. p. 536. Item Maittaire, Annal. Typ. Append. ad tom. I. p. 33.

ford, who yet had no employment at all for the ſpace of eleven years.

It has been generally aſſerted and believed, that all his books were printed in the Abbey of Weſtminſter; yet we have no aſſurance of it from himſelf, nor any mention of the place before the year 1477: ſo that he had been printing ſeveral years, without telling us where. There is one miſtake, however, worth the correcting, that the writers have univerſally fallen into, and taken up from each other; That John Iſſip was the abbot who firſt encouraged the art, and entertained the artiſt in his houſe: whereas I find upon enquiry, that he was not made abbot till four years after Caxton's death; and that Thomas Milling was abbot in 1470, made biſhop of Hereford a few years after [1474], and probably held the abbey *in commendam* till the year 1485, in which John Eſtney next ſucceeded: ſo that Milling, who was reputed a great ſcholar, muſt have been the generous friend and patron of Caxton, who gave that liberal reception to an art ſo beneficial to learning [EE].

This ſhews how unſafe it is to truſt to common hiſtory, and how neceſſary it is to recur to original teſtimonies, where we would know the ſtate of facts with exactneſs. Mr. ECHARD, at the end of Edward the Fourth's reign, among the learned of that age, mentions WILLIAM CAXTON as a writer of Engliſh Hiſtory; but ſeems to doubt whether he was the ſame with the printer of that name. Had he ever

[EE] Willis's Hiſtory of Mitred Abbeys, vol. I. p. 206.

looked

looked into Caxton's books, the doubt had been cleared; or had he conſulted his Chronicle of England [FF], which it is ſtrange that an Engliſh Hiſtorian could neglect, he would have learnt at leaſt to fix the beginning of that reign with more exactneſs, as it is noted above, juſt TWO YEARS earlier than he has placed it in his Hiſtory of England [GG].

There

[FF] With deference to the opinion of CAXTON, it is placing his authority too high, when moſt, if not all, our Engliſh Chronicles are made to ſubmit to his, and a new æra is preſcribed to one of our kings by it. It is needleſs to appeal to contemporary hiſtorians, where we are capable of producing demonſtration. We have already vindicated the true reading of our old Almanacks, and exterminated a falſe one from CAXTON's Chronicle. But the Doctor raiſes a triumph on his great diſcovery; and poor Echard is ſingled out to be laſhed, for not reading this Chronicle, or not making the ſame uſe of it as the Doctor does. See above, Note [D], p. 8. B. & N.

[GG] *Juſt* ONE *year*, Dr. MIDDLETON ſhould have ſaid; ECHARD fixing it very right, 4 March, 1461, *according to the common computation in thoſe days*, (i. e. 1460-1); the Doctor 1459, *according to our computation*, (i. e. 1459-60). But this gentleman ſeems reſolved to be at variance with that Hiſtorian as far as poſſible. He gives us his doubts; but ſo much the worſt ſide of them, that it is but juſt to let the Hiſtorian ſpeak for himſelf: "In this reign flouriſhed JOHN HARDING and WILLIAM CAXTON, both writers of the Engliſh Hiſtory. And that which now began to give encouragement to Learning, was the famous Art of Printing, which was firſt found out in Germany by JOHN GUTTENBERGHEN about 1440, or ſomewhat later, and was brought into

There is no clear account left of Caxton's age: but he was certainly very old, and probably above fourſcore, at the time of his death. In the year 1471 he complained, as we have ſeen, of the infirmities of age creeping upon him, and feebling his body; yet he lived twenty-three years after, and purſued his buſineſs, with extraordinary diligence, in the abbey of Weſtminſter, till the year 1494 [HH], in which he died; not in the year following, as all, who write of him, affirm. This appears from ſome verſes at the end of a book, called, "Hilton's Scale of Perfection," printed in the ſame year:

"Infynite laud with thankynges many folde
I yelde to God me ſocouryng with his grace
This boke to finyſhe which that ye beholde
Scale of Perfeccion calde in every place
Whereof th'auctor Walter Hilton was
And Wynkyn de Worde this hath ſett in print
In William Caxſtons hows ſo fyll the caſe,
God reſt his ſoule. In joy ther mot it ſtynt.
Impreſſus anno ſalutis MCCCCLXXXXiiii."

Though he had printed for the uſe of Edward IV, and Henry VII; yet I find no ground for the notion

into England by WILLIAM CAXTON, a mercer of LONDON, and PROBABLY the ſame with the Hiſtorian, who firſt practiſed the ſame in the Abbey of Weſtminſter 1461, and the 11th of this reign." The Hiſtorian writes ſo agreeably to the Doctor's hypotheſis, that one would think he need not be ſo much aſhamed of his company. B. & N.

[HH] No longer than the year 1491, as Mr. Ames has ſince proved from his epitaph, and the edition of Catal. Biblioth. Harl. vol. III. p. 127. B.

which

which Palmer takes up, that the firſt printers, and particularly CAXTON, were ſworn ſervants and printers to the crown: for Caxton, as far as I have obſerved, gives not the leaſt hint of any ſuch character or title; though it ſeems to have been inſtituted not long after his death: for of his two principal workmen, Richard Pynſon and Wynkin de Worde, the one was made Printer to the King; the other, to the King's mother the Lady Margaret. Pynſon gives himſelf the firſt title, in "The Imitation of the Life of Chriſt," printed by him at the commandment of the Lady Margaret, who had tranſlated the fourth book of it from the French, in the year 1504: and Wynkin de Worde aſſumes the ſecond, in "The ſeven Penitential Pſalms," expounded by biſhop Fiſher, and printed in the year 1509.

But there is the title of a book given by Palmer, that ſeems to contradict what is here ſaid of Pynſon: viz. "Pſalterium ex mandato victorioſiſſimi Angliæ Regis Henrici Septimi, per Gulielmum Fanque, Impreſſorem Regium, anno MDIIII;" which, being the only work that has ever been found of this printer, makes it probable, that he died in the very year of its impreſſion, and was ſucceeded immediately by Richard Pynſon: whoſe uſe of the ſame title ſo ſoon after ſhews the writers to be miſtaken in this, and ſeveral other particulars relating to his hiſtory, as well as that of Wynkin de Worde, which it is not my preſent buſineſs to explain.

ESSAY II.

Mr. MEERMAN's ACCOUNT OF The ORIGIN of PRINTING.

WITH REMARKS.

IT may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange that the original of Printing has hitherto eluded all the reſearches of the Learned; and that this Art, which has given light to all others, ſhould itſelf remain in obſcurity. And yet the wonder will ceaſe, if we conſider that it was invented as a more expeditious method of multiplying books than by writing, which it was at firſt deſigned to counterfeit; and conſequently was concealed for private intereſt, rather than revealed to the honour of the proprietor and the advantage of the publick.

As Mr. MEERMAN has endeavoured to reconcile ſome difficulties on this head in his valuable *Origines Typographicæ*; we ſhall briefly lay them before the Engliſh Reader, by which he will ſee the many miſtakes of every one of our lateſt writers on the ſubject; and that the difficulties have ariſen, not ſo much from the want of hiſtorical evidences, as from not attending to the true ſenſe of them; from overlooking the art

in that imperfect ſtate, when it exiſted but as an embryo not born into day-light.

The three cities, Mr. MEERMAN obſerves, which have the faireſt claim to this honour, are Harleim, Mentz, and Straſburgh: to each it is to be aſcribed in a qualified ſenſe; the improvements the one made upon the other entitling them all, in ſome ſort, to the merit of the invention.

The firſt teſtimony of the inventor is that recorded by Hadrian Junius, in his Batavia, p. 253, ed. Lugd. Bat. 1588; which, though it hath been rejected by many, is of undoubted authority. Junius had the relation from two reputable men; Nicolaus Galius [A], who was his ſchoolmaſter; and Quirinius Taleſius, his intimate and correſpondent. He aſcribes it to Laurentius the ſon of John (Ædituus, or Cuſtos, of the cathedral at Harleim, at that time a reſpectable office), upon the teſtimony of Cornelius, ſometime a ſervant to Laurentius, and afterwards bookbinder

[A] Galius ſeems to be the ſame who is called *Claes Lutgen Gael*, Scabinus Harlemi, as it is in the Faſti of that city, in the years 1531, 1533, and 1537. Quirinius in the ſame Faſti is called *Mr. Quirijn Dirkſzoon*. He was many years amanuenſis to the great ERASMUS, as appears from his Epiſtle, 23 July, 1529, tom. III. Oper. p. 1222. He was afterwards Scabinus in 1537 & ſeq.; and Conſul in 1552 & ſeq. But in the troubles of Holland he was cruelly killed by the Spaniſh ſoldiery, May 29, 1573. There are ſome Letters of HADRIAN JUNIUS to this TALESIUS, in the Epiſtolæ Familiares, p. 198. H.

to the cathedral, an office which had before been performed by Franciſcan fryars. His narrative was thus: "That, walking in a wood near the city (as the "citizens of opulence uſe to do), he began at firſt to "cut ſome letters upon the rind of a beach-tree; "which, for fancy's ſake, being impreſſed on paper, "he printed one or two lines, as a ſpecimen for his "grandchildren (the ſons of his daughter) to fol- "low. This having happily ſucceeded, he medi- "tated greater things (as he was a man of ingenuity "and judgement); and firſt of all, with his ſon-in-law "THOMAS PETER (who, by the way, left three ſons, "who all attained the conſular dignity), invented a "more glutinous writing-ink, becauſe he found the "common ink ſunk and ſpread; and then formed "whole pages of wood, with letters cut upon them; "of which ſort I have ſeen ſome eſſays, in an ano- "nymous work, printed only on one ſide, intituled, "*Speculum noſtræ ſalutis*; in which it is remarkable, "that in the infancy of Printing (as nothing is com- "plete at its firſt invention) the back ſides of the pages "were paſted together, that they might not by their "nakedneſs betray their deformity. Theſe beachen "letters he afterwards changed for leaden ones, and "theſe again for a mixture of tin and lead [*ſtanneas*], "as a leſs flexible and more ſolid and durable ſub- "ſtance. Of the remains of which types, when they "were turned to waſte metal, thoſe old wine-pots "were caſt, that are ſtill preſerved in the family- "houſe, which looks into the market-place, inhabited

"afterwards

" afterwards by his great grandſon GERARD THOMAS,
" a gentleman of reputation; whom I mention for the
" honour of the family, and who died old a few years
" ſince. A new invention never fails to engage curio-
" ſity. And when a commodity never before ſeen ex-
" cited purchaſers, to the advantage of the inventor;
" the admiration of the art increaſed, dependents were
" enlarged, and workmen multiplied, the firſt ca-
" lamitous incident! Among theſe was one JOHN,
" whether, as we ſuſpect, he had ominouſly the name
" of FAUSTUS [B], unfaithful and unlucky to his
" maſter, or whether it was really a perſon of that
" name, I ſhall not much inquire; being unwilling to
" moleſt

[B] Etymology, as it leads to the true meaning of words, is a kind of hiſtorical knowledge, which renders the ſtudy of Grammar more pleaſing. To produce the various lights which it affords would be endleſs; but we may be indulged in mentioning one inſtance, which is immediately connected both with our profeſſion and the perſon here mentioned. JOHN FAUST, or FUST, is by many ſuppoſed to have derived his name from *Fauſtus*, happy; and Dr. *Fauſtus* ſeems to carry an air of grandeur in the appellation: but very erroneouſly. *John Fauſt*, or *Fuſt*, is no more than *John Hand*, whence our name *Fiſt*. This is of ſmall moment in itſelf, if an eminent German Critic (ERASMUS SCHMIDIUS) had not refined too much upon it, and led himſelf into a miſtake by his too great knowledge. The famous editions of Tully's Offices by JOHN FUST (for there are certainly *two*, one in 1465, the other in 1466) have the following colophons. The firſt of them,

" moleſt the ſilent ſhades, who ſuffer from a conſciouſ-
" neſs of their paſt actions in this life. This man,
" bound

Preſens Marci tulij clariſſimũ opus. Johannes fuſt, Mogũtinus civis. nõ atramẽto. plumali cãna neq; aerea. Sed arte quadam perpulcra. *Petri manu pueri mei* feliciter effeci. finitum Anno M. cccc. lxv.

The ſecond is worded with more exactneſs, and ſtands thus:

Preſens Marci tulij clariſſimũ opus. Johannes fuſt Mogũtinus civis. nõ attramẽto. plumali cãna neq; aerea. Sed arte quadam perpulcra. *manu Petri de gernſheim pueri mei* feliciter effeci finitum. Anno M. cccc.lxvi. *quarta die menſis februarij, &c.*

Now Schmidius, in Nov. Teſt. Norimbergæ, 1658, p. 5, tells us, he was poſſeſſed of a copy of this book, with the firſt of theſe colophons; and had heard of, but never ſeen, the other. This learned Critic, full of the meaning of the name *Fuſt*, ſays: " Moneo non rectè ſcribi *manu Petri*, &c. quaſi τὸ *manu* eſſet ablativus inſtrumenti; quum ab autore, licet σολοίκως, uſurpetur in genitivo, *arte Petri Manu*, & ſit proprium, **Peter Fuſt, oder Fauſt**, non appellativum." The Latin indeed, if ſo read, is not diſagreeable to the rudeneſs of the age, when that language, though much diffuſed, was yet read and written with a very low degree of accuracy. But the misfortune is, Schmidius's reading is inconſiſtent with hiſtory: for it does not appear that JOHN FUST had any ſon or ſervant named PETER, except PETER SCHOEFFER de *Gernſheim*, to whom, for being an uſeful aſſiſtant to him in his art, he gave his daughter CHRISTIAN FUST in marriage;

" bound by oath to keep the ſecret of Printing, when " he thought he had learnt the art of joining the " letters,

riage; and it is not clear that it was a cuſtom in Germany for the huſband to change his name for the wife's.—There can be very little doubt, therefore, of there having been *two editions*, unleſs the variation is accounted-for by ſuppoſing that the colophon in Schmidius's copy was printed off before it was fully corrected; which might poſſibly be the caſe, becauſe the month and day ſeem to have been omitted. But, after all, if Schmidius had *ſeen* the colophon of 1466, he muſt have given up his interpretation of *manu*.—We leave this, however, as a curioſity to be ſought after; and as highly to be prized, when poſſeſſed, as Duke Lauderdale's Bible, with the forgery in it of, *Paul, a* KNAVE *of Jeſus Chriſt* *.

Mr. Maittaire (in his Annales Typographici, 1719, vol. I. p. 60.) tells us, " he has COMPARED the editions of 1465 and 1466; and finds them, except the variation of the colophon, EXACTLY the ſame." [In his Supplementary Volume, 1733, p. 275. this gentleman tells us, he ſaw in the Library of Sir THOMAS COOKE, K. B. an edition of 1465; in which were inſerted ſome Mſ. remarks; particularly that H. Salmuth (in his notes on Pancirolus) and Peter Ramus mention copies of 1466. " Ergo (ſays the anonymous writer) accuratius diſpiciendum, num planè diverſæ ſint editiones." In a note on this paſſage, Mr. MAITTAIRE again repeats, that he has compared a copy of 1465 with one of 1466; and is ſtill of opinion they are but *one edition*.]—Mr. Palmer, either not knowing this circumſtance, or not attending to it, ſays (p. 81), " It is very probable theſe editions may be *the ſame*, " the laſt ſheet only reprinted; *which may be eaſily known*

* See an account of this book in the Notes of Forteſcue Aland, Eſq; on Forteſcue on Abſolute and Limited Monarchy, p. 42.

" *by*

" letters, the method of caſting the types, and other " things of that nature, taking the moſt convenient time " that

" *by comparing them together*; and it were to be wiſhed, that " ſome of the curioſo's of Oxford would take that trouble, " ſince they are both there, as appears from Ant. Wood's " liſt."—The reverend Dr. Taylor, chancellor of Lincoln, afterwards examined both editions, and favoured us with the following remark: " I HAVE COMPARED THEM too, and " EXACTLY; and find them VERY DIFFERENT: every " page indeed beginning and ending alike, but not every " line: the ſhape alſo of ſeveral letters being very different, " particularly *m*, as thus, ꝛ. M. J. T."

That the *s*, *ſ*, and *d*, are likewiſe differently formed in theſe copies, ſee Catal. Bibl. Harl. vol. IV. A. D. 1744, p. 520.

A very full account of theſe editions is given in the *Bibliographie Inſtructive, par Guillaume François De Bure le Jeune*, 1765, *Belles Lettres*, tom. I. N° 2425, p. 151. The firſt of them has ſo many variations as to induce that writer to think there were *three* or *four* editions in 1465. In two copies which he compared,

	The one has,		The other,
In the firſt line of the Title,	*Arpinatis*	——	*Arpmatis*
In the third line,	*incipit*	——	*mcipit*
In the fourth line,	Prefacio	——	Prefacio
In the ſame page, line 20,	*nichil*	——	*nihil*
In the Latin verſes at the end of Book III.	cupiens	——	cupiẽs
At the end of the Paradoxes, and the following line *in red*, Marci Tulii Ciceronis Paradoxa finit.	*ſunt*;		ſũt, without the *red* line.
In the Verſus XII Sapientum,	ſapientũ	——	ſapientũ
Les *Ecuſſons* de Schoyffer, at the end of the Ode of Horace, appear (in red.)			(wanting.)

The titles of *Three Precepts of Friendſhip* are tranſpoſed in the firſt edition, and right in the ſecond; and many other variations, too minute to mention.

Mr.

" that was poſſible, on Chriſtmas-eve, when every one " was cuſtomarily employed in luſtral ſacrifices, ſeizes " the collection of types, and all the implements his " maſter had got together, and, with one accomplice, " marches off to Amſterdam, thence to Cologn, and " at laſt ſettled at Mentz, as at an aſylum of ſecurity, " where he might go to work with the tools he had " ſtolen. It is certain that in a year's time, viz. in " 1442, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander Gallus, which " was a Grammar much uſed at that time, together " with the *Tracts* of Peter of Spain, came forth there, " from the ſame types as Laurentius had made uſe of " at Harleim."

Thus far the narrative of Junius, which he had frequently heard from Nicolaus Galius; to whom it was related by Cornelius himſelf, who lived to a great age, and uſed to burſt into tears upon reflecting on the loſs his maſter had ſuſtained, not only in his ſubſtance, but in his honour, by the roguery of this ſervant, his former aſſociate and bedfellow. Cornelius, as appears by the

Mr. De Bure adds, that in the copy of 1465, which Clement examined, the *Four Lines of Title* are wanting; and therefore imagines this may be a *third* edition: but they may have been accidentally omitted, as thoſe lines are *in red* in the other copies; and therefore this is moſt probably *not* a different edition. He ſuppoſes alſo a *fourth* edition, as he has ſeen a copy *on vellum*, in which the word *incipit* is omitted in the title of the Paradoxes. Its being on vellum, however, is no criterion of a *new* edition.

Dr. Aſkew had a fine copy of the edition of 1465, which Dr. Hunter bought for thirty pounds. A copy on vellum of that of 1466 is in the Britiſh Muſeum. B. & N.

regiſters

regiſters of Harleim cathedral, died either in 1515 or the beginning of the following year; ſo that he might very well give this information to Nicolaus Galius, who was ſchool-maſter to Hadrian Junius.

Though this circumſtance is probable as to the main fact, yet we muſt ſet aſide the evidence of it in ſome particulars. The firſt obvious difficulty is noticed by Scriverius; "that the types are ſaid to be made of the *rind* of beach, which could not be ſtrong enough to bear the impreſſion of the preſs." This is removed, if, inſtead of the *bark*, we ſubſtitute a *bough* of the beach. The idea of the *bark*, when Junius wrote this, was perhaps ſtrong in his mind, from what Virgil tells us (Ecl. v. 13.) of its being uſual to cut words on the *bark* of a beach; and thence he was eaſily led to make a wrong application of it here.

2. The letters were at firſt *wooden*, and are ſaid to be afterwards exchanged for *metal* types; from which the wine-pots were formed, remaining in the time of Junius. According to tradition, Printing was carried on in the ſame houſe long after the time of Laurentius: thoſe pots might therefore be formed from the waſte metal of the printing-houſe, after the uſe of *fuſile types* became univerſal. But Laurentius ſeems to have carried the art no farther than *ſeparate wooden types*. What is a remarkable confirmation of this, HENRY SPIECHEL, who wrote, in the ſixteenth century, a Dutch poem intituled *Hertſpiegel*, expreſſes himſelf thus: "Thou firſt, Laurentius, to ſupply the de-
"fect of wooden tablets, adapted ſt *wooden types*, and

" afterwards didſt connect them with a thread, to imi-
" tate writing. A treacherous ſervant ſurreptitiouſly
" obtained the honour of the diſcovery. But Truth
" itſelf, though deſtitute of common and wide-ſpread
" fame; Truth, I ſay, ſtill remains." No mention in the Poem of *metal types*; a circumſtance which, had he been robbed of ſuch, as well as of *wooden* ones, would ſcarcely have been paſſed over in ſilence.

When LAURENTIUS firſt deviſed his rough ſpecimen of the art, can only be gueſſed at. He died in 1440, after having publiſhed the *Speculum Belgicum* and two editions of *Donatus*, all with different *wooden types*; which it is probable (conſidering the difficulties he had to encounter, and the many artiſts whom he muſt neceſſarily have had occaſion to conſult) coſt him ſome years to execute; ſo that the firſt eſſay might be about 1430, which nearly agrees with PETRUS SCRIVERIUS, who ſays, the invention was about ten or twelve years before 1440 [C].

3. What

[C] Scriverius's account is ſomewhat different from that of Junius. He tells us, " that Laurentius, walking in the
" wood, picked up a ſmall bough of a beech, or rather of
" an oak tree, blown off by the wind; and, after amuſing
" himſelf with cutting ſome letters on it, wrapped it up
" in paper, and afterwards laid himſelf down to ſleep. When
" he awaked, he perceived that the paper, by a ſhower of rain
" or ſome accident, having got moiſt, had received an impreſ-
" ſion from theſe letters; which induced him to purſue the
" accidental diſcovery." Scriverius, however, proceeds, according to Mr. Meerman, on a wrong hypotheſis; as he

3. What was the ſpecimen which he firſt diverted himſelf with in cutting, at the diſtance of three centuries, one would think impoſſible to be diſcovered. And yet JOH. ENSCHEDIUS, a printer, thinks he was ſo happy as to find it, being an old parchment *Horarium*, printed on both ſides, in eight pages, containing the Letters of the Alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, the Apoſtles Creed, and three ſhort prayers. And Mr. MEERMAN having ſhewn this to proper artiſts, who were judges of theſe matters, they gave it as their opinion that it agreed exactly with the deſcription of Junius. It is conformable to the firſt edition of the Dutch *Speculum Salvationis* and the fragments of both *Donatus's* of Holland, both which are the works of the ſame Laurentius, and were preceded by this. In theſe types, which are certainly moveable, cut, and uneven, there is a rudeneſs, which Mr. MEERMAN has not obſerved in any other inſtance. There are no numbers to the pages, no ſignatures, no *direction-words* [D], no

takes it for granted, that the firſt eſſays were on *wooden blocks*, and not on *ſeparate* wooden types.—Junius's account is from the ſervants of Laurentius; Scriverius's is grounded on imagination, and on an error of Scaliger. The former is clear; the latter, when the circumſtance of *going to ſleep* is conſidered, ſeems to border on the marvellous. N.

[D] It is a ridiculous conceit of ſome, that theſe were called *cuſtodes* from Laurentius's name *Coſter*; whereas they undoubtedly received their name from their office, as being *keepers* to the pages, that they might follow in order; and were *never uſed* by Laurentius or his family. See MEERMAN,

no diviſions at the end of the lines; on the contrary, a ſyllable divided in the middle is ſeen, thus, *Spiritū* in p. 8. l. 2, 3. There are neither diſtinctions nor points, which are ſeen in the other works of Laurentius; and the letter *i* is not marked with an accent, but with a dot at the top. The lines throughout are uneven. The ſhape of the pages not always the ſame, not (as they ſhould be) rectangular, but ſometimes rhomb-like, ſometimes an *iſoſcele trapezium*; and the performance ſeems to be left as a ſpecimen both of his piety and of his ingenuity in this eſſay of a new-invented art. Mr. MEERMAN has given an exact engraving of this ſingular curioſity.

There are FOUR other credible teſtimonies, who lived before Junius, that confirm the relation [E] of

MAN, vol. I. p. 77. For the introduction of *folios* and *ſignatures*, ſee note [Q], p. 27, 28. To which we may add, that Mr. MEERMAN thinks the firſt inſtance of either *folios* or *running-titles* was in the "Sermones LEON. de UTINO, "Paris, 1477;" though the uſe of *folios* is ſo obvious, that they are moſt probably to be found in very old Mſſ. N.

[E] Coæval almoſt with CORNELIUS was ULRIC ZELL, a native of Hanover, the firſt who practiſed Printing at Cologn, who attained the rudiments of the art by officiating as Corrector of the Preſs under Fuſt or Gutenberg, as appears by the *Chronicon* of Cologn, a work written under his own inſpection. ZELL being a German, and profeſſedly an advocate for the cauſe of Mentz, his teſtimony in favour of Harlem (where he allows the foundation of the art was laid) will be acknowledged unexceptionable. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 60. B. & N.

Cornelius, and yet ſeem to derive their authority from a different channel; and who all mention the theft of Laurentius's ſervant, and his ſetting-up at Mentz (ſee MEERMAN's *Documenta*, LXXXI—LXXXIV); viz.

1. "Zurenus, in JOANNIS VAN ZUYREN reliquiæ, "ex opuſculo deperdito, cui tit. Zurenus junior, ſive "de prima, et inaudita hactenus vulgo, et veriore "tamen artis typographicæ inventione dialogus, nunc "primum conſcriptus, autore Joan. Zureno, Harlemeo, "ad ampliſſimum virum N. N. aſſervatæ—a Petr. "Scriverio in Laurea Laurentiana, c. II."

2. "THEODORUS VOLCKARDI COORNHERTIUS in "dedicatione præmiſſa verſioni Belgicæ Officiorum "Ciceronis, edit. Harlem. 1561, atque inſcripta Con- "ſulibus, Scabinis, et Senatoribus ejuſdem urbis."

3. "HENRICUS PANTALEON, Lib. de viris illuſtri- "bus Germaniæ, part. II. p. 397, ſeq. ed. Baſil. 1565."

4. "LUDOVICUS GUICCIARDINUS, Deſcrizzione di "tutti i Paeſi Baſſi, edita Antwerpiæ, typis Gul. Sylvii, "1567, p. 180, in deſcriptione urbis Harlemi."

But PANTALEON, it ſhould be obſerved, is miſtaken when he aſcribes to JOHN FUST the invention of Printing, and more ſo when he ſays that he took in John Schœffer, inſtead of Peter, partner: for John, the ſon of Peter, and grandſon of Fauſtus by his daughter, was certainly not born in 1440, ſince he was famous in 1548. (See MARCHAND, Hiſt. de l'Imprimerie, p. 50.). Beſides, this writer aſſerts that Nic. Jenſon followed the art in France; who, though he was born

born in that kingdom, yet practiſed Printing no-where but at Venice. He mentions likewiſe two remarkable circumſtances; one, of the manner of hiding the types when they had ſtolen them, "eos literas "*in ſacculis clauſis* ſecum in officinas tuliſſe, atque "abeuntes abſtuliſſe;" the other, of the honour paid to the firſt artiſts [F]. The greateſt part of what he has written is borrowed from WIMPHELINGIUS, Epit. Rer. German.

But, whatever elſe may appear doubtful in the narrative of Junius, it is very clear that the firſt eſſays of the art are to be attributed to LAURENTIUS [G], who uſed only *ſeparate wooden types*. He died

[F] Mr. MEERMAN obſerves, that the following of other manual profeſſions was accounted a derogation to nobility; but that this Art conferred honour on its profeſſors. Hence it was very early practiſed by many who were of noble families, and even by eminent Eccleſiaſtics. JOHN GUTENBERG was, in 1465, received *inter Aulicos* by the Elector ADOLPHUS: and the Emperor FREDERICK III. permitted Printers to wear gold and ſilver; and both *Typographi* and *Typothetæ* were honoured by him with the privilege of wearing coat-armour; "Typothetis ſcil. aquilæ, "typographis autem gryphi, pede altero pilam tinctoriam, "unguibus tenentis, ſcutum donavit, cum aperta galea, et "ſuperimpoſita ei corona." MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 47, 48, 207. And ſee hereafter, p. 99.

[G] It may not be improper here to give an abridgement of Mr. MEERMAN's account of LAURENTIUS and his family:—He was born at Harleim about 1370, and executed ſeveral

died in 1440; and Mr. MEERMAN is of opinion (on the authority of GUICCIARDINI) that the types were ſtolen very ſoon after his death.

Moſt

ſeveral departments of magiſtracy in that city.—Thoſe writers are miſtaken, who aſſign to him the ſurname of COSTER, or aſſert that the office of *Æ*dituus was hereditary in his family. In a diploma of ALBERT of Bavaria, in 1380, in which, among other citizens of Harleim, our Laurentius's *father* is mentioned by the name of "JOANNES "LAURENTII filius;" BEROLDUS is called *Æ*dituus, who was ſurely of another family; and in 1396 and 1398 HENRICUS à LUNEN enjoyed that office; after whoſe reſignation, Count ALBERT conferring on the citizens the privilege of *electing* their *Æ*dituus, they, probably ſoon after, fixed on LAURENTIUS; who was afterwards called COSTER, from his office, and not from his family-name, as he was deſcended from an illegitimate branch of the *Gens* BREDERODIA. His office was very lucrative; and that he was a man of great property, the elegance of his houſe may teſtify. That he was the *inventor* of Printing, is plain from the narrative of Junius. His firſt work was the *Horarium* abovementioned, p. 66; the next the *Speculum Salutis*, in which he introduced *pictures* on *wooden blocks*; then *Donatus*, the larger ſize; and afterwards the ſame work in a leſs ſize. All theſe were printed on *ſeparate moveable wooden types*, faſtened together by threads. If it be thought improbable that ſo ingenious a man ſhould have proceeded no farther than the invention of *wooden types*; it may be anſwered, that he printed for profit, not for fame; and *wooden* types were not only *at that time* made ſooner and cheaper than *metal* could be, but were ſufficiently durable for the ſmall impreſſions of each book he muſt neceſſarily

have

Moſt writers agree that there was a robbery by ſome one; though they differ in the particulars, and

have printed.—His preſs was nearly ſhaped like the common wine-preſſes.—He printed ſome copies of *all* his books both on paper and vellum.—It has been very erroneouſly ſuppoſed that he quitted the profeſſion, and died broken-hearted: but it is certain that he did not live to ſee the art brought to perfection.—He died in 1440, aged 70; and was ſucceeded either by his ſon-in-law THOMAS PETER, who married his only daughter LUCIA; or by their immediate deſcendants, PETER, ANDREW, and THOMAS; who were old enough (even if their father was dead, as it is likely he was) to conduct the buſineſs, the eldeſt being at leaſt 22 or 23. The loſs they had ſuſtained by the robbery would be repaired without much difficulty or expence; and they ſtill had the aſſiſtance of CORNELIUS, and other ſervants of their grandfather.—What books they printed, it is not eaſy to determine; they having, after the example of LAURENTIUS (more anxious for profit than for fame), neither added to their books their names, the place where they were printed, or the date of the year.—Their firſt eſſays were new editions of *Donatus* and the *Speculum*. They afterwards re-printed the latter, with a Latin tranſlation; in which they uſed their grandfather's wooden pictures; and printed the book partly on *wooden blocks*, partly on *wooden ſeparate types*, as Mr. MEERMAN clearly proves, vol. I. p. 135; who has given an exact engraving of *each ſort*, taken from different parts of the ſame book, which was publiſhed between the years 1442 and 1450. Nor did they ſtop here; but continued to print ſeveral editions of the *Speculum*, both in Latin and in Dutch. Four editions of this book are yet

to

and even in the name of the perſon who is ſaid to have committed it. Thoſe who deny the whole ſtory ground their opinion, 1. on the improbability of ſuch a fact being done on ſo public a night, when the whole city muſt neceſſarily have been awake; 2. on the great difficulty there muſt have been in conveying a large quantity of materials through the gates of

to be ſeen. There are many other books in being, certainly printed in Holland, which may with probability be aſſigned to this family. Of the following ones in particular, there can be no doubt: "Hiſtoriæ ALEXANDRI "Magni;" "FLAVII VEDATII [for VEGETII] RENATI "Epitome de Re Militari;" and "Opera varia à THOMAS "KEMPIS." Of each of theſe Mr. MEERMAN has given an engraved ſpecimen. They were all printed with *ſeparate wooden types*; and, by their great neatneſs, are a proof that the deſcendants of LAURENTIUS were induſtrious in improving his invention. And hence an additional argument may be brought in favour of CORSELLIS, whoſe impreſſions were likewiſe on *ſeparate wooden types*, are remarkable for their neatneſs, and much reſembling thoſe of Harleim, whence he came to Oxford about 1459. See above, p. 7, 8.—KEMPIS was printed at Harleim in 1472, and was the laſt known work of LAURENTIUS's deſcendants, who ſoon after diſpoſed of all their materials, and probably quitted the employment; as the uſe of *fuſile types* was about that time univerſally diffuſed through Holland by the ſettling of MARTENS at Aloſt, where he purſued the art with reputation for upwards of ſixty years. PETER and ANDREW, the two eldeſt grandſons of LAURENTIUS, periſhed in the civil war of 1492. See MEERMAN's *Index primus*. B. & N.

Harleim,

Harleim, which no one was permitted to paſs at night unexamined, or through the ſeveral other towns in the way to Mentz; and, 3. on his having been permitted to exerciſe the art after his arrival in that city, without being moleſted by any judicial complaint from thoſe whom he had robbed.

To this it may be anſwered, that JUNIUS wrote in a very figurative manner; and, to expreſs his abhorrence of the crime in the ſtrongeſt light, accuſed the robber of having ſtolen "the collection of types, and "ALL the inſtruments his maſter had got together." But ſurely much leſs would effectually have anſwered the purpoſe of this unfaithful ſervant. Skilled as he muſt have been in every department of the buſineſs, it could be no difficulty for him to get proper workmen, in any country, who could (by his inſtructions) ſupply him with a preſs, and every thing elſe that was bulky. All that he really wanted was, *a ſmall quantity of wooden types*, as a pattern to cut others from. Theſe he might pack up in a little parcel, either late at night, or early in the morning; which it would be an eaſy matter to conceal till the city gates were opened. And indeed no time could be more ſuitable to ſuch a purpoſe than that which is aſſigned to it; ſince, no buſineſs being performed either on that or the following day, he would be far out of their reach when the loſs ſhould be diſcovered; and it is highly probable that (CORNELIUS and the other ſervants of the family being employed in their religious duties) he had an oppor-

tunity of being ſome hours alone in the houſe, and of plundering unmoleſted whatever he had occaſion for. Perhaps he even obtained permiſſion from the family of his deceaſed maſter to take a journey to Amſterdam or Mentz, for which ſome plauſible pretence might readily be formed. However this was, it would be eaſy to prevent the diſcovery of his fraud till he ſhould be ſafe out of the territories of Holland. It was his buſineſs therefore to take the ſhorteſt route (through Amſterdam and Cologn) to Mentz, his native city. Here he fixed his reſidence, and had little to apprehend from the tribunal of Harleim, whoſe ſentence (if any ſuit was ever entered againſt him) could extend no farther than to baniſh him from a country which he never more intended to re-viſit.

Having ſhewn that a theft was actually committed, it will be neceſſary to inquire who was the guilty perſon. It is clear from all accounts that his name was JOHN [H]. ZURENUS expreſsly calls him *a foreigner*; and there is little doubt of his being a native of Mentz: why elſe ſhould he have choſen to ſettle in that city, at a diſtance from his family

[H] It is ſomewhat ſingular, that many of the earlieſt Printers were thus named; as, GEINSFLEICH ſenior and junior, FUST, MEIDENBACHIUS, and PETERSHEMIUS; a circumſtance which induced the Leipſic Printers to conſecrate St. JOHN the Baptiſt's anniverſary to feſtivity, as is obſerved by Jo. STORIUS, in a Diſſertation preſerved by WOLFIUS, Monum. Typogr. tom. II. p. 475, *in not.* N.

and

and friends, whoſe aſſiſtance he would need in ſo new and arduous an undertaking? What his ſurname was, is an intereſting inquiry. JUNIUS, after ſome heſitation, aſcribes it to JOHN FUST; but with injuſtice: for he was a wealthy man, who aſſiſted the firſt printers at Mentz with money; and though he afterwards was proprietor of a printing-office, yet he never, as far as appears, performed any part of the buſineſs with his own hands; and conſequently he could never have been a ſervant to LAURENTIUS. Nor is the conjecture of SCRIVERIUS better founded, which fixes it upon JOHN GUTENBERG, who (as appears by authentic teſtimonies) reſided at Straſburg from 1436 to 1444, and during all that period employed much fruitleſs labour and expence in endeavouring to attain this art. Mr. MEERMAN once thought, "it "might poſſibly be either JOHN MEIDENBACHIUS "(who, we are told by SEB. MUNSTER and the au- "thor of *Chronographia Moguntinenſis*, was an aſ- "ſiſtant to the firſt Mentz printers); or JOHN PETER- "SHEIMIUS (who was ſometime a ſervant to FUST "and SCHOEFFER, and ſet up a printing-houſe at "Francfort 1459); or, laſtly, ſome other perſon, "who, being unable through poverty to carry on "the buſineſs, diſcovered it to GEINSFLEICH at "Mentz." But more authentic intelligence afterwards convinced him there were two perſons of this name, who appear to have been brothers, and that the junior was diſtinguiſhed by the additional appellation of GUTENBERG. Theſe were both printers;

and their hiſtory ſhall be given in as ſhort a compaſs as poſſible [I].

All things being fully conſidered, it appears that JOHN GEINSFLEICH ſenior was the diſhoneſt ſervant, who was born at Mentz, and who, in the papers publiſhed by KOHLERUS, we find there in the year 1441, and not before: for though he was of a good family, yet was he poor, and ſeems to have been obliged, as well as his brother, to have ſought his livelihood in a foreign country; and perhaps was

[I] There were two JOHN GEINSFLEICHES of Mentz, the ſenior called GEINSFLEICH κατ' ἐξοχήν; the other diſtinguiſhed by the name of GUTENBERG. They were both poor; though of a family diſtinguiſhed by knighthood. They were both married men, and were moſt probably brothers, as it was not uncommon in that age for two brothers to have the ſame Chriſtian name. Theſe both appear in a diſreputable light. The eldeſt robbed his maſter, with many aggravating circumſtances. The youngeſt was remarkably contentious; and, after entering into a contract of marriage with ANNA, a noble girl of *The Iron Gate*, refuſed to marry her till compelled by a judicial decree; and afterwards cared not what became of the lady, but left her behind at Straſburgh when he removed to Mentz. He had not only frequent quarrels with his wife; but with ANDREW DRIZEHEN, ANDREW HEILMANN, and JOHN RIFF, all of whom were aſſociated with him at Straſburg in his different employments of making of looking-glaſſes, poliſhing of precious ſtones, and endeavouring to attain the art of Printing: and with theſe he involved himſelf in three law-ſuits. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 163, &c. N.

content

content to be under LAURENTIUS, that, when he had learnt the art, he might follow it in his own. But, to leave conjecture, we may produce ſome certain teſtimonies.

1. It is what JUNIUS himſelf ſays, that the perſon who ſtole the types did it with a view to ſet up elſewhere; nor is it likely that he would either make no uſe of an art he had ſeen ſo profitable to LAURENTIUS, or that he would teach it to another, and ſubmit to be again a ſervant.

2. The Lambeth Record (which is printed above, p. 3, from Mr. ATKYNS) tells us, that "Mentz gained "the art by the brother of one of the workmen of "Harleim, who learnt it at home of his brother, "who after ſet up for himſelf at Mentz."—By the ſtricteſt examination of the beſt authorities, it is plain that by theſe *two brothers* the two GEINSFLEICHES muſt be meant. But as the younger (who was called GUTENBERG) was never a ſervant to LAURENTIUS, it muſt be the ſenior who carried off the types, and inſtructed his brother in the art; who firſt applied himſelf to the buſineſs at Straſburg, and afterwards joined his elder brother, who had in the mean time ſettled at Mentz.

What is ſtill ſtronger, two Chronologers of Straſburgh, the one named DAN. SPEKLINUS, the other anonymous (in MEERMAN's *Documenta*, N° LXXXV, LXXXVI), tell us expreſsly, that JOHN GEINSFLEICH (viz. the ſenior, whom they diſtinguiſh from GUTENBERG), having learnt the art by being ſervant to its

firſt

firſt inventor, carried it by theft into Mentz, his native country. They are right in the fact, though miſtaken in the application of it; for they make *Straſburg* the place of the invention, and MENTELIUS the inventor, from whom the types were ſtolen: but this is plainly an error; for GEINSFLEICH lived at Mentz in 1441, as appears from undoubted teſtimonies; and could not be a ſervant to MENTELIUS, to whom the beforementioned writers aſcribe the invention in 1440, though more antient ones do not attempt to prove that he began to print before 1444 or 1447. Nor will the narrative agree better with GUTENBERG, who was an earlier printer than MENTELIUS; ſince, among the evidences produced by him in his law-ſuit, 1439, no GEINSFLEICH ſenior appears, nor any other ſervant but LAURENTIUS BEILDEK. The narration therefore of the theft of GEINSFLEICH, being ſpread by various reports through the world, and ſubſiſting in the time of theſe Chronologers, was applied by them (to ſerve the cauſe they wrote for) to Straſburg; but ſerves to confirm the truth, ſince no writer derives the printing ſpoils from any other country than Holland or Alſatia. The Chronologers have likewiſe, inſtead of FUST, called GUTENBERG the wealthy man; who, from all circumſtances, appears to have been poor. They alſo call SCHOEFFER the ſon-in-law of MENTELIUS; when it is clear that he married the daughter of FUST.

Printing being introduced from Harleim into Mentz, GEINSFLEICH ſenior ſet with all diligence to carry it

it on; and publiſhed in 1442 ALEXANDRI GALLI *Doctrinale* [K], and PETRI HISPANI *Tractatus*; two works, which, being ſmall, beſt ſuited his circumſtances, and for which, being much uſed in the ſchools, he might reaſonably expect a profitable ſale. This has been diſputed by many writers, becauſe none of theſe editions have been found. But they undoubtedly were publiſhed, though without the name of place or printer; as the preceding books at Harleim were printed, and the following ones at Mentz, till the year 1457; and therefore, if any at preſent remain in the collections of the curious, they are only diſcoverable to ſuch as are well-acquainted with the types of LAURENTIUS. Nay, it is poſſible that the copies may be all torn and deſtroyed, having been uſed only by ſchool-boys; as hath happened to both the Harleim editions of DONATUS; or the re-

[K] ERASMUS teſtifies that theſe tracts were received in ſchools, when he was a young man, *Ep. ad* HENR. BOUILLUM, Aug. 31, 1513, Opp. tom. III. p. 103. Of this Grammar of ALEXANDER DE VILLA DEI, written in verſe, ſee among others Jo. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Biblioth. Lat. med. et infim. Latinit.* lib. I. and Jo. LEICHIUS in *Supplem.* MAITTAIRII, at the end of *Orig. Typogr. Lipſ.* p. 119. *ſeq.* Of PETER OF SPAIN, who flouriſhed in the cloſe of the XIIIth century, ſee NICH. ANTONIUS's *Biblioth. Hiſpan. vet.* lib. VIII. c. 5. p. 52; and of his *Parva Logicalia*, or *Theſaurus Sophiſmatum*, which JUNIUS here points out, Sir THOMAS MORE's *Apology for the Folly of* ERASMUS deſerves to be read, tom. III. Opp. ERASMI, p 1897, & ſeq. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 94. B.

mainder

mainder of them were ſuppreſſed by the Mentz printers, whoſe improvement in the art had rendered theſe books uſeleſs: or, if any of them are ſtill remaining, they are hidden in obſcurity, as many others of the firſt eſſays of printing; ſome of which Mr. MEERMAN diſcovered, which none have before mentioned [L]; and more, it is hoped, will be brought to light

[L] In proof of this aſſertion, Mr. MEERMAN particulary mentions *two editions* of this *Grammar* of ALEXANDER DE VILLA DEI, unknown to Mr. MAITTAIRE and others. One, and that in his own library, without time, place, or printer, beginning with the work itſelf, *Scribere clericulis paro doctrinale novellis*, was publiſhed in quarto in the Roman character, and that *cut*, as appears from the inequality of the type, and contains twenty-eight lines in a page; which may be reckoned, by all the marks, among the firſt editions printed in Italy, about 1470, or even earlier.

The other, which was ſhewn to Mr. MEERMAN by Mr. JACOB BRYANT, the celebrated writer on the Mythology of the Ancients, is in folio, in the Roman character, and *cut* too, with ſome elegance, thirty lines long, and has the following remarkable inſcription at the end:

" Alexandri de Villa Dei Doctrinale (Deo laudes) feli-
" citer explicit. Impreſſum ſat incommode. Cum aliqua-
" rum rerum, quæ ad hanc artem pertinent impreſſori
" copia fieri non potuerit in hujus artis inicio: peſte Ge-
" nuæ, Aſt, alibique militante. Emendavit autem hoc
" ipſum opus Venturinus Prior, Grammaticus eximius, ita
" diligenter, ut cum antea Doctrinale parum emendatum in
" pleriſque locis librariorum vitio eſſe videretur, nunc illius

will be brought to light, by a compariſon with the valuable ſpecimens of early printing, which Mr. MEERMAN's plates exhibit. Nor can any thing material be oppoſed to JUNIUS's relation, except the ſilence of JOHN SCHOEFFER of thoſe works, in his narration preſerved by TRITHEMIUS. The reaſon is, he paſſes over the whole hiſtory of *moveable wooden types*, as not worth his notice; and relates only the particulars of *metal types*, firſt thoſe which had their

" cura et diligentia adhibita in manus hominum quam " emendatiſſimum veniat. Imprimentur autem poſthac libri " alterius generis literis, et eleganter arbitror. Nam et " fabri et aliarum rerum, quarum hactenus promptor in- " digus fuit, illi nunc Dei munere copia eſt, qui cuncta diſ- " ponit pro ſuæ voluntatis arbitrio. AMEN."

As VENTURINUS dwelt at Florence, and in 1482 publiſhed there *the Rudiments of the Latin Grammar*, it is probable this *Doctrinale* was printed in the ſame place likewiſe, and by the ſame artiſts, who afterwards printed the works of VIRGIL with SERVIUS's *Commentary* in 1472, viz. BERNARD and DOMINICK CENNINI. For if the inſcription ſubjoined to VIRGIL, and to be ſeen in MAITTAIRE, tom. I. p. 320, be compared with what is above exhibited, it will be manifeſt that, to print the Prince of Poets, they had got a workman who could caſt the letters (for *caſt* they were), as they had hopes of getting, they tell us, in the inſcription to the *Doctrinale*. Thus this Grammar, by the CENNINI, is the firſt book printed at Florence; which Dom. MANNI ſeems not to have known, in his Diſſertation on the firſt impreſſions at Florence, lately publiſhed in the Italian language. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 94, 95. B. & N.

faces *cut on caſt bodies* (which Mr. MEERMAN *at firſt* erroneouſly thought to have been not *caſt* at all, but *cut* out of metal, an opinion he corrects in the concluſion of his work), and afterwards *complete fuſile types*, both firſt uſed at Mentz.

This twofold invention of Printing is what no one has obſerved before Mr. MEERMAN; and yet clears up all the diſputes between Harleim and Mentz: the firſt with *ſeparate wooden types* at Harleim, by LAURENTIUS, about 1430, and after continued by his family; the other with *metal types*, firſt *cut*, and afterwards *caſt*, which were invented at Mentz, but not uſed in Holland till brought thither by THEODORIC MARTENS at Aloſt [M].

The

[M] This THEODORIC MARTENS, or the ſon of MARTIN, who is frequently mentioned in ERASMUS's Epiſtles, had the following epitaph, in German, put up in the church of the monaſtery of the Wilhelmites at Aloſt: "Here lies "THEODORIC MARTENS, who brought the art of cha- "racteriſing, from Upper Germany and France, to Lower "Germany. He died May 28, 1534."—By *the art of characteriſing* is undoubtedly to be underſtood printing with metal types, as we have ſhewn above, p. 43, note [Z]. So that PROSPER MARCHAND is miſerably miſtaken, when, in his *Lexicon Criticum*, tom. II. p. 29, art. MARTENS, he produces this epitaph as a proof againſt LAURENTIUS being the firſt printer.—The firſt books yet known of MARTENS's printing were at Aloſt, 1473. See MARCHAND, *Hiſt. de l'Imprimerie*, p. 63. But he ſeems to have had ſeveral partners, who came with him into Holland,

The circumſtance of there being two brothers of the name of JOHN GEINSFLEICH will lead us to the meaning of the Poet, in theſe verſes, ſubjoined to the firſt editions of JUSTINIAN's *Inſtitutes*, printed by PETER SCHOEFFER in 1468:

" Hos dedit eximios ſculpendi in arte magiſtros,
Cui placet en mactos arte ſagire viros,
Quos genuit ambos urbs Moguntina JOHANNES,
Librorum inſignes protocharagmaticos,
Cum quibus optatum PETRUS venit ad *Polyandrum*,
Curſor poſterior, introëundo prior;
Quippe quibus præſtat ſculpendi lege, ſagitus
A ſolo dante lumen et ingenium."

By " ambos JOHANNES," all have hitherto thought to be meant FAUSTUS and GUTENBERG, not ſufficiently attending to the firſt two lines, which ſome have left out as needleſs. That FAUSTUS, a man of wealth, practiſed Printing with his own hands, or caſt the types, no one ever dreamt; nor do even thoſe moderns ſay he did, who think he is here meant. It will be difficult, therefore, to perſuade us, that SCHOEFFER, in whoſe praiſe, and with whoſe con-

land, as it is certain Jo. of WESTPHALIA did. See MAITTAIRE, Annal. Typogr. tom. I. p. 334, ed. 2. And ſince MATTHAEUS VAN DER GOES appears a printer at Antwerp 1472, who in that year printed *het boeck van Tondalus viſioen* in quarto, THEODORIC conſequently returned about that period, from Germany and France, into his own country. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 98. B. & N.

ſent, theſe verſes were made, would ſuffer FAUSTUS, his father-in-law, to be complimented for his ſkill in an art to which he had no pretence. The truth is, the two JOHNS are no other than GEINSFLEICH ſenior and GUTENBERG, who were the firſt inventors of *metal types*. And yet Mr. MEERMAN thinks FUST is not wholly unmentioned; ſuſpecting he is hinted at by the word *Polyandrum*, to whom both the GEINSFLEICHES and PETER SCHOEFFER applied as to the common patron of all printers, whom he aſſiſted with his bounty and counſel. He had certainly the ſurname given him of Gutman, or GOODMAN, as Jo. CARION informs us in his *Chronicle*, which name ſeems to be alluded to by a new ſignification of the word *Polyander*, the Aller-man, or one who had *many men* under his direction. *Polyandrum* has been alſo explained by many writers to mean the *penetralia artis*; from a ſuppoſition of its alluding to CHRIST's ſepulchre, which PETER firſt entered, though he came to it after JOHN.—SCHELHORNIUS, however, *Amœnit. Liter.* tom. IV. p. 301, ſuſpected ſome *unknown perſon* was here intended [N].

Which of the two brothers invented the *metal types*, hiſtory does not inform us. GEINSFLEICH ſenior had printed in 1442 the *Grammar* of ALEXANDER DE VILLA DEI, and the *Logicalia* of PETER OF SPAIN, on *wooden types*; but, finding them not ſufficiently durable, ſoon ſaw the expediency of uſing *metal*. In 1443 he hired the houſe Zum-jungen, and was aſſiſted with money by FUST, who in return had a ſhare of the buſineſs;

[N] See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 176, 177.

and

and about the ſame time JOHN MEIDENBACHIUS was admitted a partner, as were ſome others, whoſe names are not tranſmitted to our times; and in 1444 they were joined by GUTENBERG, who for that purpoſe quitted Straſburg.

It ſeems likely, therefore, that GEINSFLEICH ſenior firſt thought of uſing *metal types*; but, his eyes failing him, he inſtructed GUTENBERG in his art, which reached no farther than caſting the *ſhanks* of the letters, or little ſquare blocks of *metal*, which (POLYDORE VERGIL tells us) was firſt thought-of in 1442, the very year in which GEINSFLEICH publiſhed his firſt eſſays on *wooden types*, which did not anſwer his expectations. But, ſince the brothers are both called *protocharagmatici*, it is ſafeſt, with WIMPHELINGIUS, to look upon both as the inventors of this improvement.

Whilſt the *metal types* were preparing, which muſt have been a work of time, ſeveral works were printed, both on *wooden ſeparate types* and *wooden blocks*; which were well adapted to ſmall books of frequent uſe, ſuch as the *Tabula Alphabetica*, the *Catholicon*, DONATI *Grammatica*, and the *Confeſſionalia*. Theſe were certainly printed by this partnerſhip, as were alſo ſome *wooden pictures*.

From the abovementioned printers in conjunction, after many ſmaller eſſays, the *Bible* was publiſhed in 1450, with *large cut metal types* [O]. And it is no wonder,

[O] Many writers have ſuppoſed that this was the edition of which ſome copies were ſold in France, by FUST, as manuſcripts, for the great price of five or ſix hundred crowns, which

wonder, conſidering the immenſe labour this work coſt, that it ſhould be ſeven or eight years in completing. In this ſame year the partnerſhip was diſſolved; and a new one entered into, in Auguſt, between FUST and GUTENBERG; the former ſupplying money, the latter ſkill, for their common benefit. Various difficulties ariſing occaſioned a law-ſuit for the money which FUST had advanced; which was determined againſt GUTENBERG. A diſſolution of this partnerſhip enſued in 1455; and in 1457 a magnificent edition of the *Pſalter* was publiſhed by FUST and SCHOEFFER, with a remarkable commendation, in which they aſſumed to themſelves the merit of a new invention (viz. of *metal types*), "adinventionem artificioſam imprimendi ac characterizandi." This book was uncommonly elegant, and in ſome meaſure the work of GUTENBERG; as it was four years in the preſs, and came out but eighteen months after the partnerſhip was diſſolved between him and FUST.

The latter continued in poſſeſſion of the printing-office: and GUTENBERG, by the pecuniary aſſiſtance of CONRAD HUMERY ſyndic of Mentz [P], and others,

which he afterwards lowered to ſixty, and at laſt to leſs than forty. But it was the ſecond and more expenſive edition of 1462, that was thus diſpoſed of, when FUST went to Paris in 1466, and which had coſt 4000 florins before the third *quaternion* (or quire of four ſheets) was printed. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 6. 151, 152. N.

[P] At the death of GUTENBERG, CONRAD HUMERY took poſſeſſion of all his printing materials: and engaged

others, opened another office in the ſame city; whence appeared, in 1460, without the printer's name, the *Catholicon* Jo. DE JANUA, with a pompous colophon, in praiſe of its beauty, and aſcribing the honour of the invention to the city of Mentz [Q]. It was

gaged to the Archbiſhop ADOLPHUS, that he never would ſell them to any one but a citizen of Mentz. They were, however, ſoon diſpoſed of to NICHOLAS BECHTERMUNTZE, of Altavilla, who, in 1469, publiſhed *Vocabularium Latino-Teutonicum*, which was printed with the ſame types which had been uſed in the *Catholicon*. This very curious and ſcarce *Vocabulary* was ſhewn to Mr. MEERMAN, by Mr. BRYANT, in the duke of MARLBOROUGH's valuable library at Blenheim. It is in quarto, thirty-five lines long, contains many extracts from the *Catholicon*, and is called *Ex quo*, from the Preface beginning with thoſe words. See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 96. N.

[Q] This edition, having been publiſhed without a name, has been almoſt univerſally aſcribed to FUST and SCHOEFFER. But Mr. MEERMAN thinks it was not the work of thoſe printers; 1. becauſe the whole form of their colophons varies from this, and theirs were always printed with *red* ink, and this with *black*; 2. becauſe it has not *their names* to it, which they never omitted after 1457; and, 3. becauſe the ſhape of the letter is very different from any that they uſed. As there was no other printing-office at Mentz in 1460 but theirs and GUTENBERG's, Mr. MEERMAN confidently aſcribes it to the latter; and accounts very probably for the omiſſion of the printer's name; 1. by the motive of his publication being *profit*, rather than *fame*; and, 2. (which

was a very handſome book, though inferior to the *Pſalter* which had been publiſhed in 1457 by FUST and SCHOEFFER. Both the *Pſalter* and *Catholicon* were printed on *cut metal types* [R]. It may not be improper to obſerve here, that as the *Pſalter* is the earlieſt

(which was a ſtronger reaſon) left his claim to the invention ſhould be contradicted by SCHOEFFER, who was then living in the ſame city. The laſt motive ſeems to have had its uſe; for SCHOEFFER never took any public notice of it, till he publiſhed the *Inſtitutiones* JUSTINIANI in 1468, where he informs his readers, that the two GEINSFLEICHES, though very ſkilful men, had not arrived to ſo great perfection in the art as himſelf. See above, p. 83. This was the firſt edition of the *Catholicon* Jo. DE JANUA; that which was printed by GEINSFLEICH with *wooden types* (ſee above, p. 85) being only a *ſmall Vocabulary* for the uſe of ſchools. The Straſburgh edition, by MENTELIUS, which was publiſhed likewiſe without a name, was not printed till long after, probably not before 1469. See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 96. 99.—A copy of the *Catholicon* was purchaſed at Dr. MEAD's auction for 25 *l.* 15 *s.* for the French king; who had given a commiſſion to bid 150 *l.* for it. Mr. WEST's copy was ſold for 35 *l.* 3 *s.* 6 *d.* and is now in the Royal Library. Dr. ASKEW's, which appeared to be a very beautiful copy, was ſaid to be *not* the FIRST Edition, and one of the leaves was written: it ſold for 14 *l.* 10 *s.* N.

[R] GUTENBERG never uſed any other than either *wooden* or *cut metal types* till the year 1462. In 1465 he was admitted *inter Aulicos* by the Elector ADOLPHUS, with an annual penſion; and died in February 1468. His elder brother GEINSFLEICH died in 1462. Their epitaphs are printed by Mr. MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 154. 295. N.

book

book which is known to have a genuine date, it became a common practice, after that publication, for printers to claim their own performances, by adding their names to them.

The progreſs of the art has been thus traced through its *ſecond* period, the invention of *cut metal types*. But the honour of *completing* the diſcovery is due to PETER SCHOEFFER [S] *de Gernſheim*.

A very clear account of this final completion of the types is preſerved by TRITHEMIUS [T]: "Poſt "hæc inventis ſucceſſerunt ſubtiliora, inveneruntque "modum *fundendi formas* omnium Latini alphabeti

[S] In German, Schoeffer; in Latin, OPILIO; in Engliſh, SHEPHERD.—He is ſuppoſed by Mr. MEERMAN to have been the firſt ENGRAVER on Copper Plates. The Poet, whoſe verſes we have cited in p. 84, ſays of him,

"Natio quæque ſuum poterit reperire charagma
"Secum; nempe ſtylo præminet omnigeno."

It is not quite certain, however, as Mr. MEERMAN obſerves, whether this is meant for a compliment to his ſkill in what is now called ENGRAVING; it may perhaps mean only that he was able to *cut types* to repreſent all languages. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 253. N.

[T] Annales Hirſaugienſes, tom. II. ad ann. 1450, p. 421. As this book was finiſhed in 1514, and TRITHEMIUS tells us, he had the narrative from SCHOEFFER himſelf about thirty years before; this will bring us back to 1484, when SCHOEFFER muſt have been advanced in years, and TRITHEMIUS about twenty-two years old, who died in 1516. See Voſſ. Hiſt. Lat. l. III. c. 10. FABR. Med. & Infim. Ætat. l. IX. B.

" literarum [U], quas ipſi *matrices* nominabant; ex " quibus rurſum æneos ſive ſtanneos characteres funde- " bant, ad omnem preſſuram ſufficientes, quos prius " manibus ſculpebant. Et revera ſicuti *ante* xxx *ferme* " *annos* ex ore Petri Opilionis de Gernſheim, civis Mo- " guntini, qui gener erat primi artis inventoris, audivi, " magnam a primo inventionis ſuæ hæc ars impreſſoria " habuit difficultatem.—Petrus autem memoratus Opi- " lio, tunc famulus poſtea gener, ſicut diximus, inven- " toris primi, Johannis Fuſt, homo ingenioſus et pru- " dens, faciliorem modum *fundendi characteres* excogi- " tavit, et artem, ut nunc eſt, complevit."

[U] Mr. MEERMAN (vol. II. p. 47.) ſuppoſes there is an error in this paſſage, and that it ſhould be read, " fundendi " formas omnium Latini alphabeti literarum [EX IIS] quas " ipſi *matrices* nominabant;" and explains it to mean, " That " they found out a method *fundendi formas* (that is, of *caſting* " *the bodies* only) of all the letters of the Latin alphabet, FROM " WHAT *they called matrices* (on which they *cut the face* of each " letter); and *from the ſame kind of matrices* a method was in " time diſcovered of caſting the *complete letters* (*æneas ſive* " *ſtanneos characteres*) of ſufficient hardneſs for the preſſure " they had to bear, which letters before (that is, when the *bo-* " *dies only were caſt*) they were obliged to *cut*." But this interpretation is itſelf *obſcure*; and, with ſubmiſſion, the paſſage from TRITHEMIUS needs no correction. The ſimple ſenſe is, That a mode was invented of *ſtamping the ſhape of the letters* in *matrices*, from which were *caſt* the *complete types*.—The firſt operation of the Founder at preſent is, to cut the *face* of the letter on a *ſteel punch*; this he ſtrikes into a *copper matrix*; and from *matrices* the *metal types* are caſt, without any further proceſs. See Mr. DE MISSY's remark on this paſſage, at the end of the Appendix. N.

Another

Another ample teſtimony in favour of SCHOEFFER is given by Jo. FRID. FAUSTUS of Aſchaffenburg, from papers preſerved in his family: "PETER "SCHOEFFER of Gernſheim, perceiving his maſter "FUST's deſign, and being himſelf ardently deſirous "to improve the art, found out (by the good pro- "vidence of God) the method of cutting *(incidendi)* "the characters in a *matrix*, that the letters might "each be ſingly *caſt*, inſtead of being *cut*. He pri- "vately *cut matrices* for the whole alphabet; "and, when he ſhewed his maſter the letters caſt "from theſe matrices, FUST was ſo pleaſed with the "contrivance, that he promiſed PETER to give him "his only daughter CHRISTINA in marriage; a pro- "miſe which he ſoon after performed. But there "were as many difficulties at firſt with theſe let- "ters, as there had been before with *wooden* ones; "the metal being too ſoft to ſupport the force of the "impreſſion: but this defect was ſoon remedied, by "mixing the metal with a ſubſtance which ſuffi- "ciently hardened it." This account has the more probability in it, as coming from a relation of FUST, yet aſcribing the merit to SCHOEFFER [X]. It agrees too with what JOHN SCHOEFFER tells us [Y], "that "in 1452 FUST completed the art, by the help of

[X] See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 183. who copied this teſtimony from WOLFIUS, Monument. Typograph. vol. I. p. 468, ſeq. N.

[Y] In a colophon to the *Breviarium* TRITHEMII. See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 144. N.

" his ſervant PETER SCHOEFFER, whom he adopted " for his ſon, and to whom he gave his daughter " CHRISTINA [Z] in marriage, *pro dignâ laborum* " *multarumque adinventionum remuneratione.*— FUST " and SCHOEFFER concealed this new improvement, " by adminiſtering an oath of ſecrecy to all whom " they intruſted, till the year 1462; when, by the " diſperſion of their ſervants into different countries, " at the ſacking of Mentz by the archbiſhop ADOL- " PHUS, the invention was publicly divulged."

The firſt book printed with theſe *improved types* was DURANDI *Rationale*, in 1459; at which time, however, they ſeem to have had only *one ſize* of *caſt* letters, all the larger characters which occur being *cut types*, as appears plainly by an inſpection of the book [AA]. From this time to 1466, FUST and SCHOEFFER

[Z] It is ſomewhat remarkable that JOHN SCHOEFFER ſhould be miſtaken in his mother's *name*; which, however, Mr. MEERMAN thinks he was, ſince his father (in a contract made in 1477, with his kinſman FUST, about twenty copies in vellum, and 180 in paper, of the *Decretals* of Gregory IX, being the reſidue of an impreſſion printed in 1473) expreſsly calls his wife Dynen, i. e. DINAH; which KÖHLERUS, who has printed this contract, ſuppoſes to be a diminutive of CHRISTINA: though DINAH (or DEBORAH) is a very different name from CHRISTINA. MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 184. But ſee Mr. DE MISSY's very ingenious Remarks at the end of our Appendix. N.

[AA] MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 98.—When Dr. ASKEW's fine copy of DURANDUS was on ſale, a doubt was ſtarted, whether

SCHOEFFER continued to print a conſiderable number of books; particularly the two famous editions of TULLY's *Offices*, of which we have already given an account, p. 59. In their earlieſt books, they printed more copies on *vellum* than on *paper*, which was the caſe both of their *Bibles* and TULLY's *Offices*. This, however, was ſoon inverted; and *paper* introduced for the greateſt part of their impreſſions: a few only being printed on *vellum*, for curioſities, and for the purpoſe of being *illuminated* [BB]. How long FUST lived, is uncertain; but in 1471 we find SCHOEFFER was in partnerſhip with CONRAD HENLIF and a kinſman of his maſter FUST [CC]. He publiſhed many books after the death of his father-in-law [DD]; the laſt of which that can be diſcovered is a third edition of the *Pſalter* in 1490, in which the old *cut* types of the firſt edition were uſed [EE].

whether it was *compleat*, as it did not begin exactly in the manner deſcribed by M. DE BURE. It ſold, however, for 61 *l.*—How far it correſponded with M. DE BURE's account, I cannot pretend to ſay, having had no opportunity of examining that particular; but, on a cloſe inſpection into the book on a former occaſion, I have every reaſon to think Mr. MEERMAN's account of it to be perfectly exact. Dr. ASKEW's copy was on vellum, and bound in two volumes. N.

[BB] Ibid. vol. I. p. 8. [CC] Ibid. p. 7.

[DD] SCHWARZIUS, *Primar. Docum. de Orig. Typogr.* par. II. p. 4. has enumerated *forty-eight* books (*omnes grandiori forma*) printed by SCHOEFFER before 1492. And Mr. MEERMAN adds ſtill more to that number, vol. I. p. 253. N.

[EE] MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 52.

This

This Diſſertation ſhall be cloſed with a ſhort account of the claim of *Straſburgh*. It has been already mentioned, that GUTENBERG was engaged in that city in different employments; and, among others, in endeavouring to attain the art of Printing [FF]. That theſe endeavours were unſucceſsful, is plain from an authentic judicial decree of the ſenate of Straſburgh, in 1439, after the death of ANDREW DRIZEHEN [GG].

But there are many other proofs that GUTENBERG and his partners were never able to bring the art to perfection.

[FF] See above, p. 76, note [I].

[GG] Their firſt attempts were made about 1436, with *wooden types*. Mr. MEERMAN is of opinion that GEINSFLEICH junior (who was of an enterprizing genius, and had already engaged in a variety of projects) gained ſome little inſight into the buſineſs by viſiting his brother, who was employed by LAURENTIUS at Harleim, but not ſufficient to enable him to practiſe it. It is certain, that, at the time of the law-ſuit in 1439, much money had been expended, without any profit having ariſen; and the unfortunate DRIZEHEN, in 1438, on his death-bed, lamented to his confeſſor, that he had been at great expence, without having been reimburſed a ſingle *obolus*. Nor did GUTENBERG (who perſiſted in his fruitleſs endeavours) reap any advantage from them; for, when he quitted Straſburg, he was overwhelmed in debt, and under a neceſſity of ſelling every thing he was in poſſeſſion of. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 198—202. All the depoſitions in the law-ſuit above-mentioned (with the judicial decree) are printed by Mr. MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 58—88. N.

1. WIM-

1. WIMPHELINGIUS [HH], the oldeſt writer in favour of Straſburg, tells us, that GUTENBERG was the inventor of "a new art of writing," *ars impreſſoria*, which might almoſt be called a divine benefit, and which he happily completed at Mentz; but does not mention one book of his printing: though he adds, that MENTELIUS printed many volumes correctlyand beautifully, and acquired great wealth: whence we may conclude that he perfected what GUTENBERG had in vain eſſayed.

2. WIMPHELINGIUS, in another book [II], tells us, the art of Printing was found out by GUTENBERG *incompletè*; which implies, not that he practiſed the art in an imperfect manner (as LAURENTIUS had done at Harleim), but rather that he had not been able to accompliſh what he aimed at.

3. GUTENBERG, when he left Straſburg in 1444 or the following year, and entered into partnerſhip with GEINSFLEICH ſenior and others, had occaſion for his brother's aſſiſtance, to enable him to complete the art; which ſhews that his former attempts at Straſburg had been unſucceſsful [KK].

4. Theſe particulars are remarkably confirmed by TRITHEMIUS, who tells us, in two different places [LL],

[HH] *Epitome rerum Germanicarum*, ed. Argent. 1505. MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 202. vol. II. p. 139.

[II] *Catal. Epiſc. Argentin.* 1508. MEERMAN, ut ſupra.

[KK] MEERMAN, ut ſupra.

[LL] *Annal. Hirſaug.* ut ſupra, & *Chron. Sponheim.* See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 103. 127.

that

that GUTENBERG ſpent all his ſubſtance in queſt of this art; and met with ſuch inſuperable difficulties, that, in deſpair, he had nearly given up all hopes of attaining it, till he was aſſiſted by the liberality of FUST, and by his brother's ſkill, in the city of Mentz.

5. ULRIC ZELL ſays [MM], the art was completed at Mentz; but that ſome books had been publiſhed in Holland earlier than in that city. Is it likely that ZELL, who was a German, would have omitted to mention Straſburgh, if it had preceded Mentz in Printing?

There is little doubt therefore that all GUTENBERG's labours at Straſburgh amounted to no more than a fruitleſs attempt, which he was at laſt under a neceſſity of relinquiſhing: and there is no certain proof of a ſingle book having been printed in that city till after the diſperſion of the printers in 1462 [NN], when

[MM] *Chronicon Coloniæ*, 1499. ZELL attributes the invention to GUTENBERG at Mentz; whence, he ſays, the art was firſt communicated to Cologn, next to Straſburgh, and then to Venice. See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 105.

[NN] From this period, Printing made a rapid progreſs in moſt of the principal towns of Europe, as will appear by an inſpection of our Appendix, N° IV *. In 1490, it reached Conſtantinople; and, according to Mr. PALMER, p. 281, &c. it was extended, by the middle of the next century, to Africa and America. It was introduced into Ruſſia about 1560; but, from motives either of policy or ſuperſtition, it was ſpeedily ſuppreſſed by the ruling powers; and, even

* This number of the Appendix appears now for the firſt time.

when MENTELIUS and EGGESTENIUS ſucceſsfully purſued the buſineſs. The former indeed is ſuppoſed by ſome writers to have begun printing about the year 1447; but no ſufficient authority appears for ſuch an aſſertion.

Having mentioned MENTELIUS, let us examine for a moment how he comes to be conſidered as the inventor of Printing. The origin of the art was known to very few. The advocates for Mentz were divided in their ſentiments between GUTENBERG and FUST. The city of Straſburgh put in its own claim to the invention; and GUTENBERG's failure of ſucceſs there, cutting off all pretence to the honour of it, opened a way for MENTELIUS, who certainly was the firſt publiſher of books in that city. JOHN SCHOTTUS, a ſon of MENTELIUS's daughter, ſettled there in 1510, after having reſided at Friburg in Baſil, and took an opportunity of cultivat-

under the preſent enlightened Empreſs, has ſcarcely emerged from its obſcurity.—That it was early practiſed in the inhoſpitable regions of Iceland, we have the reſpectable authority of Mr. BRYANT: "ARNGRIM JONAS was born amidſt "the ſnows of *Iceland*; yet as much prejudiced in favour of his "country as thoſe who are natives of an happier climate. This "is viſible in his *Crymogæa*; but more particularly in his "*Anatome Blefkiniana*. I have in my poſſeſſion this curious "little treatiſe, written in Latin by him in his own country, "and printed *Typis Holenſibus in Iſlandiâ Borcali, anno* 1612. "*Hola* is placed in ſome maps within the *Arctic* Circle, and is "certainly not far removed from it. I believe, it is the "fartheſt North of any place, where Arts and Sciences have "ever reſided." *Obſervations and Inquiries relating to various parts of Ancient Hiſtory*, 1767, p. 277. B. & N.

ing a report which was likely to prove ſo advantageous to him among his countrymen. He was more particularly excited to this, by JOHN SCHOEFFER, of Mentz; who boaſted in his colophons, though not quite conſiſtently with truth, that JOHN FUST, his grandfather by the mother's ſide, was the firſt inventor [OO]. As Straſburgh rivaled Mentz in its claim, why ſhould SCHOTTUS give place to SCHOEFFER, or why MENTELIUS to FUST? If SCHOEFFER uſed artifice on one ſide, SCHOTTUS ſhewed more on

[OO] JOHN SCHOEFFER was the firſt who attributed the invention to FUST; not, as other writers do, by ſaying that he aſſiſted the firſt printers with money and advice; but imputing it to *his own ingenuity*. He did not, however, venture to aſſert ſo much at once, but artfully proceeded to it by degrees. In his firſt colophon, 1503*, he aſcribes it *majoribus ſuis*, without naming them. In a dedication to the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, in 1505, he ingenuouſly calls GUTENBERG the inventor, and FUST and SCHOEFFER the improvers. In 1509, he calls his grandfather *inventorem auctoremque*; and in 1515, in the colophon to TRITHEMIUS, which is above cited, he aſſerts that FUST completed the art with the aſſiſtance of PETER SCHOEFFER. By a continual repetition of colophons to this purpoſe, many were perſuaded that the aſſertion was true, and among others, it ſeems, the Emperor MAXIMILIAN (ſee above, p. 14); to whom, however, in 1505, JOHN SCHOEFFER had given a very different account. See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 144. N.

* The colophon to "Hermetis Pimander," 1503, is, "Impreſſum & "expletum eſt diviniſſimum preſens opuſculum in nobili urbe Magun-"tina, Artis Impreſſorie inventrice illuminatriceque prima — per JOAN "SCHOEFFER." ASK. Cat. N° 1719.

the

the other. The former, without any teſtimony but his own repeated confident aſſertions, drew over many in favour of FUST, leaving GUTENBERG out of the queſtion; and, among others, even the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, who, in 1518, granted SCHOEFFER *an excluſive privilege* of printing LIVY. SCHOTTUS was ſilent while this Emperor lived; but no ſooner was he dead, than he endeavoured to perſuade his ſucceſſor CHARLES V, and the reſt of the learned world, that FUST ſhould be diveſted of his imaginary claims, and MENTELIUS be put in his place. To this purpoſe, from the year 1520, he prefixed his family arms to all the books he printed, which had been granted, by FREDERICK III, to his grandfather and deſcendants; adding to them an inſcription, "that they were granted to JOHN MENTELIUS, "*the firſt inventor of Printing.*" But the truth is, coat-armour had before been granted by that emperor to the *typothetæ* and the *typographi*, to perpetuate the diſcovery [PP]; but to MENTELIUS he granted them only as a private man who was deſirous of nobility, and the diploma contained not a word of the invention of Printing: nor did SCHOTTUS dare openly to aſſert that it was granted to MENTELIUS for the invention of the art, leſt he ſhould be detected in a falſehood; but was content, by uſing an ambiguous expreſſion, to miſlead inattentive readers [QQ].

[PP] See above, p. 69, note [F].

[QQ] MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 205, & ſeq.

APPENDIX to the SECOND ESSAY.

N° I.

On the first-printed GREEK Books.

IT cannot be thought foreign to our plan, to give a short account of the invention of those *characters* by which the learned languages have been perpetuated, and particularly the Greek and Hebrew.

The first essays in GREEK that can be discovered are in the few sentences which occur in the famous edition of TULLY's *Offices*, 1465, at Mentz, which we have already described; but these were miserably incorrect and barbarous, if we may judge from the specimens Mr. MAITTAIRE has given us [*a*], of which the following is one:

Οτίcαταακαρτμακατα καὶ τατωτωκα.

In the same year, 1465, was published an edition of LACTANTIUS's *Institutes*, printed *in monasterio Sublacensi*, in the kingdom of Naples, in which the quotations from the Greek authors are printed in a very neat Greek letter [*b*]. Mr. MEERMAN observes, that there is *a very striking difference* between the Greek used in *Lactantius* and that of *Mentz*; as there is also in the types with which *the Latin* is printed.

[*a*] Vol. I. p. 61. & Pars posterior, p. 274.

[*b*] PALMER, Hist. of Printing, p. 124.

They

They ſeem to have had but *a very ſmall quantity* of Greek types in the monaſtery; for, in the firſt part of the work, whenever a long ſentence occurred, a blank was left, that it might be written-in with a pen; after the middle of the work, however, all the Greek that occurs is printed [*c*].

The firſt printers who ſettled at Rome were CONRAD SWEYNHEIM and ARNOLD PANNARTZ, who introduced the preſent *Roman* type, in 1467, in CICERO's *Epiſtolæ Familiares:* in 1469 they printed a beautiful edition of AULUS GELLIUS, with the Greek quotations in a fair character, without accents or ſpirits, and with very few abbreviations [*d*].

It

[*c*] Before this period, the uniform character was the old *Gothic*, or *German*; whence our *Black* was afterwards formed. But *Lactantius* is printed in a kind of Semi-gothic, of great elegance, and approaching nearly to the preſent *Roman* type; which laſt was firſt uſed at Rome in 1467, and ſoon after brought to great perfection in Italy, particularly by JENSON. See MEERMAN, vol. II. p. 248. N.

[*d*] After having printed, in ſix or ſeven years at moſt, a great number of very beautiful and correct editions, theſe ingenious printers were reduced to the moſt neceſſitous circumſtances. Their learned patron the Biſhop of ALERIA (who was the editor of AULUS GELLIUS) preſented a petition to Pope Sixtus IV, in 1471, in behalf of "theſe worthy "and induſtrious printers;" in which he repreſents their great merit and miſery, in the moſt pathetic terms; and declares their readineſs to part with their whole ſtock for ſubſiſtence. "We were the firſt of the Germans (they ſay) "who introduced this art, with vaſt labour and coſt, into "your

It appears then that ſome conſiderable fragments of Greek were very early introduced into printed books; but the firſt whole book that is yet known is the Greek Grammar of CONSTANTINE LASCARIS, in quarto, reviſed by DEMETRIUS CRETENSIS, and printed by DIONYSIUS PALAVISINUS, at Milan, 1476 [*e*].

In 1481, the Greek *Pſalter* was printed in that city, with a Latin tranſlation, in folio [*f*]: as was Æſop's

" your Holineſs's territories, in the time of your predeceſſor: " and encouraged, by our example, other printers to do the " ſame. If you peruſe the catalogue of the works printed by " us, you will admire how and where we could procure a ſuf- " ficient quantity of paper, or even rags, for ſuch a number " of volumes.—The total of theſe books amounts to 12,475; " a prodigious heap, and intolerable to us, your Holineſs's " printers, by reaſon of thoſe unſold. We are no longer able " to bear the great expence of houſe-keeping, for want of " buyers; of which there cannot be a more flagrant proof, " than that our houſe, though otherwiſe ſpacious enough, is " full of *Quire-books*, but void of every neceſſary of life." The curious Reader may ſee the whole of this intereſting petition, which is dated March 1, 1472, with the catalogue of their books, in PALMER, p. 130, &c. who has tranſlated it from CHEVILLIER. See alſo MAITTAIRE, vol. I. p. 46. & Pars poſterior, p. 276. N.

[*e*] PALMER, p. 215. See Mr. DE MISSY's note, in p. 104. Dr. ASKEW's copy of this Grammar ſold for 21*l.* 10*s.* N.

[*f*] LE LONG, Bibliotheca Sacra, p. 436. A fine copy of this edition was purchaſed by Mr. DE MISSY, with many other valuable books, at the ſale of the Harleian Library. Dr. ASKEW's copy of it ſold for 16*l.* 16*s.* N.

Fables

Fables in quarto; a copy of which Dr. HUNTER bought, at Dr. ASKEW's ſale, for *6l. 6s.*

Venice [*g*] ſoon followed the example of Milan; and in 1486 were publiſhed in that city the *Greek Pſalter* and the *Batrachomyomachia*, the former by ALEXANDER, the latter by LAONICUS, both natives of Crete. They were printed in a very uncommon character; the latter of them with *accents* and *ſpirits*, and alſo with *ſcholia* [*h*].

In

[*g*] In an edition of PLINY's Natural Hiſtory, printed by Jo. DE SPIRA in 1469 (ſee above, p. 45), a Greek inſcription, l vii. c. 58, is thus miſerably miſ-printed in Roman letters, "xaxilipcui canece comai cockpturæ trata una ciezica," inſtead of Ναυσικράτης Τισαμένᾳ Ἀθηναίῳ Κόρῃ ᾧ Ἀθηνᾷ ἀνέθηκεν. CHISHULL, Antiq. Aſiat. p. 20. A copy of this edition (which HARDUIN ſeems not to have known of, and which is the more valuable for preſerving this ſignal mark of ignorance in the editor) was in Dr. MEAD's magnificent library; whence it came into the curious collection of another Gentleman who was equally an ornament to Literature and to Medicine, the learned Dr. ASKEW; and, after his death, was ſold for 43*l.* to THE BRITISH MUSEUM. This book, containing 750 pages, was printed in the ſhort ſpace of three months. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 15. N.

[*h*] MAITTAIRE, vol. I. p. 182.—Dr. ASKEW had a fine copy of this very ſcarce book, which was ſold to Dr. HUNTER for 14*l.* 5*s.* Lord OXFORD had offered Mr. MAITTAIRE 50 guineas for that identical copy.—"If MAITTAIRE left "it a matter of doubt whether the *Pſalter* has *accents* and "*ſpirits*, it muſt be becauſe he had not ſeen the book: for it "has them certainly in my copy; nor do I remember they "were wanting in the only one I ever ſaw beſides, I mean "the

In 1488, however, all former publications in this language were eclipſed by a fine edition of HOMER's works at Florence, in folio, printed by DEMETRIUS, a native of *Crete* [*i*]. Thus Printing (ſays Mr. MAITTAIRE, p. 185.) ſeems to have attained its ἀκμὴ of perfection, after having exhibited moſt beautiful ſpecimens of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

" the copy which, if I miſtake not, was purchaſed for *three* " *guineas and a half* by Dr. ASKEW from Dr. MEAD's Li- " brary. As to the *types* (whether caſt or cut, for I have " ſome ſcruples about it) they may be called a rough, though " not altogether unlike imitation of thoſe Mſſ. *medii ævi*, " ſuch as ſome in my poſſeſſion, which I look upon as writ- " ten by a purely Greek hand, and not with a pen, but with " a reed. I had formerly (but gave them to Dr. ASKEW, " who in return *promiſed* me ſome other trifling literary fa- " vour) a few leaves of an ancient printed book * which I " gueſſed was LASCARIS's or GAZA's Greek Grammar; " and the impreſſion of which, as it then ſeemed to me, re- " ſembled very much *that* of the Pſalter in queſtion. A more " imperfect reſemblance of its coeval *Batrachomyomachia*, " may be ſeen in the engraved ſpecimen of it which was " drawn, I ſuppoſe, by MAITTAIRE himſelf, and publiſhed " with his edition of that Poem, *anno* 1721." C. D. M.

[*i*] A copy of this very beautiful edition, in fine preſervation, is in the NORFOLK Library, among the valuable collection of the ROYAL SOCIETY. Dr. ASKEW had another copy, which was purchaſed, at the price of 17 *l.* for THE BRITISH MUSEUM. N.

* Poſſibly thoſe ſold to Dr. HUNTER, with " Manutii Rudimenta " Linguæ Græcæ, *Venet.* 1594," for 5 *l.* 10 *s.* N.

In 1493, a fine edition of ISOCRATES [*k*] was printed at *Milan*, in folio, by HENRY GERMAN and SEBASTIAN EX PANTREMULO.

All the above works are prior in time to thoſe of ALDUS, who has been erroneouſly ſuppoſed to be the *firſt* Greek Printer: the beauty, however, correctneſs, and number, of his editions place him in a much higher rank than his predeceſſors [*l*]; and his characters in general were more elegant than any before uſed. He was born in 1445, and died in 1515 [*m*].

[*k*] See PALMER, p. 158.—An illuminated copy of this work was purchaſed for the THE BRITISH MUSEUM, at Dr. ASKEW's ſale, for ten guineas and a half. N.

[*l*] It would be endleſs to enumerate the various works of this diſtinguiſhed Printer. It may be proper, however, to mention his very curious edition of the *Pſalter*, which is without date, but is clearly fixed by Mr. MAITTAIRE either to the year 1495 or 1496. Mr. DE MISSY had a fine copy of it, which was ſold to Mr. MASON for ſeven pounds. N.

[*m*] ALDUS was inventor of the *Italic* character which is now in uſe, called, from his name, *Aldine*, or *Curſivus*. This ſort of letter he contrived, to prevent the great number of abbreviations that were then in uſe; a ſingular ſpecimen of which is faithfully exhibited by CHEVILLIER*: "Sic̃ hic c̃ fal s̃m q̃d ad ſimplr a c̃ ꝓducibile a Deo "g̃ a c̃ & slr hic a n̄ c̃ g̃ a n̄ c̃ ꝓducibile a Do." *i. e.* "Sicut hic eſt fallacia ſecundùm quid ad ſimpliciter. "A eſt producibile a Deo: Ergo A eſt. Et ſimiliter hic. "A non eſt: Ergo A non eſt producibile a Deo." Contractions of a ſimilar nature abounded in all the works of that age, and more particularly in the books of law. N.

* From "La Logique d'Okam, 1488," fol.

This article ſhould properly cloſe here: but it would be unpardonable not to mention the celebrated family of STEPHENS; whoſe impreſſions, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, are well known. Though the noble Greek books of ALDUS had raiſed an univerſal deſire of reviving that tongue, the French were backward in introducing it. The only pieces printed by them were ſome quotations, ſo wretchedly performed, that they were rather to be gueſſed at than read [n]; in a character very rude and uncouth, and without accents. But FRANCIS TISSARD introduced the ſtudy of this language at Paris, by his Βίβλος ἡ γναμαγυρικὴ, in 1507 [o]; and that branch of printing was afterwards ſucceſsfully practiſed by HENRY, ROBERT, and HENRY STEPHENS.

The earlieſt Greek edition of the *whole Bible* was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the COMPLUTENSIAN Polyglott of

[n] This is ſaid on the authority of PALMER, p. 270.—"The father of ROBERT was alſo named HENRY, and was "perhaps the firſt that began to print Greek quotations in "ſuch a manner that they could not be ſaid to be *wretchedly* "*performed, and rather to be gueſſed at than read.* I judge of "this by his edition of *Fabri Stapulenſis Quincuplex Pſalterium*, "printed at Paris, and publiſhed in 1513." C. D. M. Mr. DE MISSY's copy of this Pſalter was ſold to THE ROYAL LIBRARY, for two guineas.—ROBERT STEPHENS had the advantage of being aſſiſted in the correction of his Greek books by his brother CHARLES, who was a good printer, though a phyſician by profeſſion; and had alſo the help of another learned brother, named FRANCIS. N.

[o] CHEVILLIER ſuppoſes that TISSARD, who had alſo the honour of introducing the uſe of Hebrew into France, died in 1508. N.

Cardinal XIMENES [*p*]; but as that edition, though finiſhed in 1517, was not publiſhed till 1522; the *Venetian*

[*p*] See hereafter, p. 128. 153—162.—And ſee an account of the early Greek and Latin editions both of the Old and New Teſtament in LE LONG's Bibliotheca Sacra.—Mr. MAITTAIRE, however, Annal. Typogr. t. I. p. 41, mentions a Latin Bible, of Paris, unnoticed by LE LONG, which is without a date; but is fixed by [Mr. BARRICAVE] a learned friend of Mr. MAITTAIRE's to the year 1464, the third year of the reign of LOUIS the Eleventh, from the three following verſes printed in a colophon at the end of it:

" Jam ſemi Undecimus luſtrum Francos LODOICUS
" Rexerat, ULRICUS, MARTINUS, itémque MICHAEL
" Orti Teutoniâ hanc mihi compoſuere figuram."

Mr. PALMER, Hiſtory of Printing, p. 100, after citing the above conjecture, adds, " I am perſuaded that Mr. MAIT-" TAIRE's friend was miſtaken in the firſt verſe. As CHE-" VILLIER gives us the ſame colophon at the end of the firſt " Paris Bible by the ſame three partners, with this variation " however from the former, that inſtead of *ſemi luſtrum*, it " has *tribus luſtris*, that is, inſtead of the *third*, it imports the " *thirteenth* year of that King's reign: we may eaſily ſuppoſe, " that it was the firſt Paris Bible of 1475; and this Gentle-" man might probably be miſtaken: however, the book being " in Queen's College library, in Cambridge, it may be eaſily " conſulted." We have the authority of the very learned and accurate Dr. TAYLOR in Mſ. to aſſert, that " Mr. MAIT-" TAIRE's friend was *not miſtaken* *. The verſes are as quoted " by Mr. MAITTAIRE, *ſemi luſtrum*, not *tribus luſtris*;" and, that " the book is not in Queen's College Library, but in " the

* Dr TAYLOR's poſitive aſſertion is as poſitively overthrown, by two *more recent* examinations: which we ſhall take the liberty of inſerting in our Appendix, in the words of the Gentlemen who favoured us with them.

Venetian Septuagint of 1518 [*q*] may properly be called the firſt edition of the *whole* Greek Bible; ERASMUS having publiſhed the New Teſtament *only*, at Baſil, in 1516.

" the Library of the Univerſity, in that part of it which was " given by King George I."—We ſhall juſt mention occaſionally, as it falls in our way, another very ſcarce Latin Bible publiſhed by SERVETUS, whence Dr. GREGORY SHARPE cites a note of SERVETUS, in his *Second Argument*, &c. and of which he ſays, p. 254, *The Jeſuits at Lions, when I enquired after this book, did not know that it ever had been publiſhed: and Mr. Arkenholtz, a very learned and ingenious man, the librarian at Heſſe Caſſel, where the works of Servetus are ſuppoſed to be preſerved, though the* CHRISTIANISMUS RESTITUTUS *is loſt, having been ſtolen out of the library, when the Landgrave himſelf was preſent, did not, till I convinced him, believe that Servetus ever publiſhed an edition of the Bible.* In Dr. MEAD's Catalogue, p. 3, this edition is intituled, *Biblia Sacra ex Pagnini tranſlatione, per* MICH. VILLANOVANUM, i. e. SERVETUM, *Lugduni*, 1542, *folio*. B. & N.—" If Dr. " SHARPE's intention in this note was only, as I ſuppoſe, to " make his Readers ſenſible how ſcarce a book that Bible is " from which he quoted a paſſage, it may be but ſeconding his " intention to obſerve, that *his* copy, Dr. MEAD's copy, and " *my* copy of it, are but *one: his* copy being that which he " had borrowed of me, and *mine* being no other than Dr. " MEAD's; which I purchaſed when his library was ſold by " auction in 1754." C. D. M.—For Seven Pounds, as appears by a Catalogue in which the prices are marked. This Bible now forms part of Dr. HUNTER's noble collection; who bought it, at Mr. DE MISSY's ſale, for ten guineas. N.

[*q*] This beautiful edition * *(Venetiis, in ædibus Aldi & Aſulani ſoceri ejus)* was begun by ALDUS, and completed after his death under the inſpection of ANDREW ASULANUS, who had long been the corrector of ALDUS's preſs. N.

* See hereafter, p. 169; and MAITTAIRE, vol. II. p. 133.

N°

N° II.

On the firſt-printed HEBREW Books: with Obſervations on ſome modern Editions; and a Collation, from WALTON's Polyglott, of a remarkable paſſage, as printed in *Kings* and *Chronicles*.

A VERY ſatisfactory account of this branch of Printing is thus given by a Gentleman whoſe learned labours have for many years been conſtantly employed in elucidating the Hebrew Scriptures [*a*]:

"The method which ſeems to have been originally "obſerved, in printing the Hebrew Bible, was juſt "what might have been expected:

"I. The PENTATEUCH, in 1482 [*b*].

"II. The PRIOR PROPHETS, in 1484 [*c*].

"III. The POSTERIOR PROPHETS, in 1486 [*d*].

"IV. The

[*a*] Dr. KENNICOTT, in *Ten Annual Accounts of the Collation of Hebrew Mſſ.* p. 112. In the Doctor's Plan for printing a corrected Bible (dated Dec. 16, 1772) an edition of the *Pſalms* is mentioned, ſo early as 1477. N.

[*b*] A copy of this edition is preſerved at Verona. Another copy of it is in the curious Library of the Margrave of BADEN DURLAC. See *Annual Accounts*, p. 112. N.

[*c*] This edition (containing *Joſhua*, *Judges*, and *Samuel*) Dr. KENNICOTT ſaw in the Royal Library at Paris. N.

[*d*] This edition contained the *Prophetæ priores* and *poſteriores*, according to WOLFIUS, Biblioth. Hebraica, vol. II. p. 397.

" IV. The HAGIOGRAPHA, in 1487 [*e*].

" And, after the FOUR great parts had been thus " printed ſeparately (each with a comment), THE " WHOLE TEXT (without a comment) was printed in " one volume in 1488 [*f*]: and the text continued to be " printed,

397. See Dr. KENNICOTT's State of the printed Hebrew Text, Diſſert. II. p. 472. It was printed at *Soncino*, in the dutchy of Milan, without vowel points, cum Com. DAVID KIMCHI, fol. See LE LONG, Bibliotheca Sacra, p. 129; and PALMER, p. 249. N.

[*e*] Printed at Naples in 1487. A copy of the *Hagiographa*, in two volumes, on vellum, was preſented by Dr. PELLET to Eaton College Library. It contains many curious readings, different from all the other printed copies, and contrary to the *Maſora*. The laſt is probably one of the reaſons for which the whole edition may have been deſtroyed excepting this copy, which had the ſingular good fortune to eſcape the flames. Dr. PELLET ſays, *Hoc exemplar unicum, & flammis ereptum, uti par eſt credere.* This edition however is printed with the vowel points, except one whole page of *Daniel*. See Dr. KENNICOTT, Diſſ. I. p. 521. Diſſ. II. p. 473.—Another copy has been ſince diſcovered, in the *Caſanatenſian* library at Rome. See *Annual Collations*, p. 112. N.

[*f*] Printed at Soncino, with vowel points, by ABRAHAM fil. Rabbi HHAJIM, fol. See LE LONG, p 96, where is a particular enumeration of all the principal editions till the year 1709. The whole of the *New Teſtament* was firſt publiſhed in Hebrew by ELIAS HUTTER in 1599, in a Polyglott edition, which will be deſcribed in our Appendix, N° III. B. & N.—" But long enough before this, at

" Baſil,

" printed, as in these first editions, so in several others " for twenty or thirty years, without marginal *Keri* " or *Masora*, and with greater agreement to the more " antient Mss.; till, about the year 1520, some of " the Jews adopted *later* Mss. and the *Masora*; which " absurd preference has obtained ever since."

Thus much for the *ancient* editions given by Jews.

In 1742, a Hebrew Bible was printed at Mantua, under the care of the most learned Jews in Italy. This Bible had not been heard of among the Christians in this country, nor perhaps in any other; though the nature of it is very extraordinary. The text indeed is nearly the same with that in other modern editions: but at the bottom of each page are Various Readings, amounting in the whole to above 2000, and many of them of great consequence, collected from Mss. printed editions, copies of the Talmud, and the works of the most renowned Rabbies. And in one of the notes is this remark:—" That in several " passages of the Hebrew Bible the differences are so

" Basil, anno 1537, was published *(typis* HENRICI PETRI) " a small folio, containing a pretended antient Gospel of *St.* " *Matthew* in Hebrew, together with a Latin Translation, " and Annotations by the Editor SEBASTIANUS MUN- " STERUS; the same who, anno 1535, had published an " Hebrew Bible, with a new Latin Translation of his own, " and Annotations, at Basil, in two volumes in folio: which " were reprinted at Basil with considerable improvements, " anno 1546. Of this I have a fine copy." C. D. M.

" many

" many and ſo great, that they know not which to fix " upon as the true Readings [*g*]."

We cannot quit this ſubject without obſerving, on Dr. KENNICOTT's authority, that as the firſt printed Bibles are more correct than the later ones; ſo the Variations between the firſt edition, printed in 1488, and the edition of VANDER HOOGHT, in 1705, at Amſterdam, in 2 vols. 8vo. amount, upon the whole, to above TWELVE THOUSAND! [*b*]

But theſe are not the only Variations that we are concerned to take notice of. Parallel places of Scripture, though evidently derived from the ſame original, are found to differ in no ſmall degree. Of this many ſtriking inſtances have been long ſince given by Dr. KENNICOTT, in his *State of the printed Hebrew Text*, Diſſ. I. And we are enabled, by the kindneſs of a valuable Friend, to lay before the Reader another ſpecimen of the ſame kind [*i*], in a Collation of the accounts of the Dedication of the Temple, as written 1 Kings vii. 51. viii. 1, &c. and 2 Chron. v. 1, &c.

[*g*] Dr. KENNICOTT's Plan, Dec. 16, 1772.

[*b*] Annual Accounts, p. 130.

[*i*] This ſpecimen occaſioned the publication of a very uſeful treatiſe, by the ſame Author, under the title of " Critica " Sacra, or a ſhort Introduction to Hebrew Criticiſm;" which was followed by " A Supplement," in anſwer to the pamphlet of Mr. RAPHAEL BARUH, a learned Jew, intituled, " Critica Sacra examined, &c." N.

A COLLATION

OF THE ACCOUNT OF The DEDICATION of the TEMPLE.

1 Kings vii.	2 Chron. v.
VARIOUS READINGS.	
Ver. 51. המלך . . .	Ver. 1. wanting.
בית falsely for . .	לבית
דוד . . .	דויד
את הכסף . . .	ואת הכסף wrong.
ואת הכלים . .	ואת כל הכלים
יהוה . . .	האלהים
viii. 1. יקהל . . .	2. יקהיל
המלך שלמה redundant.	wanting
דוד . . .	דויד
2. שלמה . . .	3. wanting.
בירח האתנים	improperly omitted.
3. הכהנים . . .	4. הלוים
4. את ארון יהוה	את הארון without יהוה
ויעלו	העלו
והלוים rightly.	הלוים
5. אתו redundant.	6. wanting.
6. ויבאו	7. ויביאו
הכרובים . . .	הכרבים
7. כי	8. ויהין
אל	על
ויסכו lit. transpositis.	ויכסו
הכרבים . . .	הכרובים
8. ויארכו . . .	9. ויאריכו
הקדש . . .	הארון
ויהיו rightly. . . .	ויהי
9. לחות האבנים . .	10. הלהות without האבנים

* N. B. ברית seems to be wanting in both places after בירת.

1 Kings viii. | 2 Chron. v. and vi.

VARIOUS READINGS.

1 Kings viii.	2 Chron. v. and vi.
℣ 9. הנח	℣ 10. נתן
שם rightly	negligently omitted.
מארץ מצרים	ממצרום
10. והענן מלא את בית יהוה	13. והבית מלא ענן * בית יהוה
11. את בית יהוה	14. את בית האלהים
13. בנה	vi. 2. ואני
מכון	ומכון
14. עמד	3. עומד
15. דוך	4. דויד
ובירן	וביריו
16. את ישראל	5. wanting.
ממצרים	מארץ מצרים.
N. B. The opposite 13 words, though necessary to complete the sense, are omitted in Kings, owing to the similar endings of two sentences, one of which the transcriber negligently overlooked.	ולא בחרתי באיש להיות נגיד על עמי ישראל ואבחר בירושלם להיות שמי שם—
16. בדוד	6. בדויד
17. דוד	7. דויד
18. דוד	8. דויד
הטיבת	הטיבות
19. כי אם	9. כי without אם
20. ואקם	10. ואקום
דוד	דויד
21. ואשם	11. ואשים
מקום לארון	את־הארון
אבתינו	בני ישראל
בהוציאו אתם מארץ מצרים	wanting.

* For בית the LXX read כבוד. The text is evidently wrong; and ought to stand as in 1 Kings.

℣ 22.

1 Kings viii.	2 Chron. vi.
VARIOUS READINGS.	
℣ 22. שלמה	℣ 12. wanting.
השמים	13. *השמימה
23. אלהים	14. האלהים
ממעל	wanting.
ועל הארץ	ובארץ
מתחת	wanting.
24. דוד	15. דויר
25. דוד	16. דויד
ישב	יושב
לפני	בתורתי
26. אלהי	17. יהיה אלהי
נא	wanting.
דבריך wrong.	דברך right.
דוד אבי	לדויד
27. wanting.	18. את האדם
השמים	שמים
יכלכלך	יכלכלוך
28. היום	19. wanting.
29. עינך	20. עיניך
פתחת	פתוחות
לילה ויום	יומם ולילה
יהיה שמי	לשום שמך
לשמע	לשמוע
30. תחנת	21. תחניני
אל מקום	ממקום
אל השמים	מן השמים
31. את אשר	22. אם
32. השמים	23. מן השמים
להדשיע רשע	להשיב לרשע
33. בהנגף	24. ואם ינגף
אשר	כי

* Verse 13th is a parenthesis (not extant in Kings) with part of verse 12th repeated.

1 Kings viii.	2 Chron. vi.
VARIOUS READING.	
✡ 33. אליך	✡ 24. wanting.
אליך	לפניך
34. השמים	25. מן השמים
והשבתם	והשיבותם
נתת לאבותם	נתתה להם ולאבותיהם
35. שמים	26. השמים
ומחטאתם	מחטאתם
36. את הדרך	27. אל הדרך
37. ירקון	28. וירקון right.
איבו	איביו wrong.
כל מחלה	וכל מחלה right.
38. תהיה	29. יהיה
לכל עטך	ולכל עמך
ידעון	ידעו
נגע לבבו	נגעו ומכאבו
39. השמים	30. מן השמים
ועשית	wanting.
ונתת	ונתתה
ידעת לבדך	לבדך ידעת
כל בני	כל בני without
40. יראוך	31. ייראוך
wanting.	ללכת בדרכיך
כי ישמעון את שמך 42.	32. wanting.
ואת ידך	וידך
וזרעך	וזדועך
ובא	ובאו
והתפלל	והתפללו
43. אתה	33. ואתה
השמים	מן השמים
מכום	ממכום
ידעון	ידעו
ליראה	וליראה
44. איבו	32. איביו

1 Kings viii.	2 Chron. vi.
VARIOUS READINGS.	
℣ 44. אל יהוה	℣ 34. אליך
wanting.	הזאת
בנתי	בניתי
45. השמים	35. מן השמים
46. שביהם	36. שוביהם
האויב	wanting.
47. אל לבם	37. אל לבבם
שביהם	שבים
והעוינו	העוינו right.
רשענו	ורשענו right.
48. לבבם	38. לבם
איביהם	שבים
אליך	wanting.
העיך	והעיר
והבית	ולבית
בנית	בניתי right.
49. השמים	39. מן השמים
מכון	ממכון
תחנתם	תחנתיהם

N. B. This Collation, made from WALTON's *Polyglott*, proceeds no farther, becauſe the remainder of SOLOMON's Prayer is very different in *Kings*, from what it is in *Chronicles*; for which difference if the Learned could clearly account, it would be of great ſervice to this important branch of Literature.

In

In Mr. CLARKE's *Connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and Engliſh Coins*, among many other intereſting particulars, is a curious Diſſertation on the *Jewiſh Money*; in which the *Shekel*, as determined by GRSEPSIUS *, is proved (againſt the united authority of VILLALPANDUS and GREAVES) to have been ſynonymous to the *Didrachma*, or forty-eighth part of a pound: and conſequently a fourth part of an ounce; not half an ounce, as has been commonly ſuppoſed.

* "It is now almoſt two centuries ſince STANISLAUS GRSEPSIUS, a learned Polander, publiſhed a treatiſe, *De multiplici ſiclo, et talento Hebraico*. This book met with a very ſingular fate. It was at firſt much neglected; and then, about a century afterwards, publiſhed in Germany, as a very choice Mſ. found in one of their libraries. One HENRICUS GOUTIER THULEMARIUS re-printed it word for word, without taking the leaſt notice of its author; and this Literary Pirate was in time regarded as the true Proprietor. See BAUDELOT, Utilité des Voyages, vol. II. p. 247. and FABRICIUS, Bibl. Ant. p. 27." Mr. CLARKE, p. 242.—This learned work of GRSEPSIUS would be no temptation to a Literary Pirate of theſe days! B.

N° III.

On the first-printed POLYGLOTTS.

THE first POLYGLOTT work was printed at Genoa in 1516, by PETER PAUL PORRUS [*a*], who undertook to print the Pentaglott Psalter of AUGUSTIN JUSTINIAN, bishop of Nebo. It was in Hebrew, Arabic [*b*], Chaldaic, and Greek, with the Latin Versions,

[*a*] "By PORRUS it was *printed* at Genoa, *in ædibus* "*Nicolai* JUSTINIANI *Pauli*; whither he seems to have been "invited for that purpose: after which I conceive that he "returned to his usual place of abode at Turin; as by him-"self, at the end of the book, he is called *Petrus Porrus* "*Mediolanensis* TAURINI DEGENS." C. D. M. Mr. DE MISSY had three copies of this Psalter, of which the finest was sold to Mr. CRACHERODE for one guinea.

[*b*] The Arabic version is of no authority, as it was translated, not from the Hebrew, but from the Septuagint; where the version of the Prophets (particularly *Jeremiah)* is less faithful than that of the other books of the Old Testament, and was probably made by a Jew who was very ignorant of Hebrew. But this is far from being the case of the Pentateuch. See MICHAELIS, *Syntagma Commentationum*, 1763, Comm. III. p. 58. and PRIDEAUX, vol. II. folio, p. 36. The Illyrian, Gothic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Syriac versions were all made from the Septuagint; though there is still in being an older version of the Syriac, translated immediatedly from the Hebrew original. PRIDEAUX, p. 37.

"The Arabic is the *latest* of all the antient versions of "the Old Testament.—In the year 942 died R. SAADIAS,

Verſions, Gloſſes, and Scholia, which laſt made the eighth column, in *folio*. The *Arabic* was the firſt that ever was printed; and this the firſt piece of the Bible that ever appeared in ſo many languages [*b*].

" called *Gaon* (i. e. *the illuſtrious)*, who preſided over the " Babylonian ſchools.—The chief merit of this learned and " laborious Rabbi is, that he tranſlated all the Old Teſta- " ment from the Hebrew into Arabic; expreſſing the Ara- " bic in Hebrew characters. But though the whole Hebrew " Bible was thus tranſlated by him; yet *the Pentateuch* " only has been, as yet, publiſhed from his verſion. The " other books, now in Arabic, in the Paris and London " Polyglotts, were tranſlated at different times, by different " authors; partly from the Greek, and partly from the " Syriac verſions: and but few parts, if any, (excepting " the Pentateuch) were tranſlated from the Hebrew." Dr. KENNICOTT, on the State of the printed Hebrew Text, Diſſ. II. p. 452—454.

See a particular enumeration of the Arabic verſions, both Mſ. and printed, in LE LONG, p. 214, &c. N.

[*b*] JUSTINIAN, preſuming this work would procure him great gain, as well as reputation, cauſed 2000 copies to be printed of it, and promiſed in his Preface to proceed with the other parts of the Bible. But he was miſerably diſappointed: every one applauded the work; but few proceeded further; and ſcarce a fourth part of his number was ſold. Beſides the 2000 copies, he had alſo printed fifty upon vellum, which he preſented to every crowned head, whether Chriſtian or Infidel. The whole New Teſtament was prepared for the preſs by JUSTINIAN, who had alſo made great progreſs in the Old. See LE LONG, Bibliotheca Sacra, p. 2. MAITTAIRE, Annal. Typ. tom. II. Par. I. p. 121. PALMER, Hiſt. of Printing, p. 263. N.

In

In 1518, JOHN POTKEN publiſhed the Pſalter, in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Æthiopic, [or Chaldaic, as he, with ſome others, called it,] at Cologn; but the name of the Printer is no where to be found throughout the book [*c*]. It has no Preface properly ſo called:

[*c*] The *Printer's* name is no where mentioned, that we know of, except in the following obſervations of the late Mr. DE MISSY, to whom this article had been communicated: 'I would almoſt venture to affirm, that *you* have 'named him when you named *Potken*. For if he does not 'ſay expreſsly that *he* was the Printer, he ſeems at leaſt to 'give us a broad hint of it, when he ſays: *Statui jam 'ſenex linguas externas aliquas diſcere: & per artem impreſſo-'riam, quam adoleſcens* didici, *edere: ut modico ære libri in 'diverſis linguis, formis æneis excuſi emi poſſint.* Theſe words 'might have been minded, but were omitted, by *Le Long* 'in the abſtracts he made of Potken's addreſs to his 'readers at the end of the book. Towards the end of the 'ſame Addreſs he ſays *imprimi curavi:* but ſuch a phraſe 'may very well be underſtood of one who ſaw his work 'printed at home with his own types. And, beſides, he 'might have choſen that phraſe as the moſt convenient, on 'account of his having been abſent for ſome time while 'the impreſſion was carried on by his kinſman and learned 'aſſiſtant *Soter*, alias *Heyl*. Confer with the above Addreſs 'what he ſays, p. 7. (col. 2 *ſub finem*) of his *Introductiun-'culæ*, &c. a ſmall work of no more than four leaves, 'which was certainly intended to go along with the Pſalter, 'though it is not always, and is perhaps very ſeldom, to be 'found with it. In the abovementioned Addreſs he pre-'tends to be the firſt who had *imported into Europe* what he 'calls *the Chaldee* [now more properly called the *Æthiopic*]

called: but from an Addreſs of POTKEN to the ſtudious Readers, which is printed on the laſt page of the Pſalter,

'*Tongue.* And nothing hitherto has appeared to the contrary. Some quibblers indeed might object, that it rather 'was imported by the Æthiopian Fryars who had helped him 'to learn it. But he certainly ſeems to have been the firſt 'who preſented the European Republic of Letters with a 'printed *Introductiuncula* to the Reading of that language: 'nor could any body, that I know of, have ſaid in 1518, that 'in 1513 he had publiſhed or printed an Æthiopic book in 'Europe, as Potken does in his Addreſs of 1518, where he 'acquaints us, that, nearly five years before, he had given at 'Rome an edition of the Æthiopic Pſalter printed by itſelf: 'for it is evidently of ſuch a Pſalter that he ſays: *Pſalterium* '..... *arte impreſſoria* ..... *quinquennio vix exacto*, '*Romæ edidi:* which book is noticed by *Le Long*, in theſe 'words: *Pſalmi & Canticum Canticorum Æthiopice ſtudio* '*Joannis Potken cum ejus præfatione Latina, in* 4°. Romæ '1513. That *Latin Preface*, could I get a ſight of it, would 'perhaps enable me to be more particular and more poſitive. 'The book is marked by Le Long himſelf as being in the 'Royal Library at Paris; and an account of the ſaid Preface, 'no-doubt, might eaſily be obtained, if aſking for it ſhould 'become a matter of any importance to the curious. Thus 'much, however, I thought, might be propoſed proviſionally, 'concerning the name of the Printer to whom the world was 'indebted for Potken's Polyglott Pſalter.——But ſince I have 'dwelt ſo long upon that ſubject, I cannot well diſmiſs it 'without adding a word about the rank which Le Long gives 'to this work among the firſt-printed Polyglott Pſalters; 'immediately after that of *Juſtiniani*, printed by *Porrus* in '1516; and before another, by him ſuppoſed to be printed,

as

Pſalter, we are informed, that, while his earneſt zeal for Chriſtianity, and for the Roman See, made him extremely

' as well as Potken's, two years later. *Pſalterium Hebraice,*
' *Græce, & Latine, cura & ſtudio Deſid. Eraſmi.* V. *S. Hiero-*
' *nymi Opera, in fol. Baſileæ, typis Amerbachii* 1518. Such
' was Le Long's indication of the book in the firſt edition of
' his *Bibliotheca Sacra.* In the laſt Paris edition (1723) it
' runs thus: " Pſalterium Hebraice, & Latine, tam ex Ver-
" ſione S. Hieronymi ſecundum Hebraicam veritatem quam
" ex Vulgata Latina, cura & ſtudio Deſid. Eraſmi & Conr.
" Pellicani. V. *S. Hieronymi Opera*, in fol. Baſileæ, typis
" Amerbachii 1518," and is followed by theſe ſcraps *Ex*
' *præfatione Brunonis Amerbachii.* " Veteri probatæque
" Theologiæ plurimum lucis acceſſurum ex hac caſtiſſima
" [*it ſhould have been* caſtigatiſſima] Hieronymianorum ope-
" rum editione, quam in primis Eraſmo, nonnihil etiam no-
" bis ſtudioſi ferre debent acceptum [*for* acceptam] . . . Nos
" huic octavo tomo corrollarii vice quadruplex Pſalterium
" adjecimus, videlicet & Hebraicum, & huic oppoſitam D.
" [*divi*] Hieronymi verſionem, quam vulgo Hebræam ve-
" ritatem appellant, Græcum item, cui reſpondet e regione
" tralatio quæ paſſim legitur, ἀδηλῶς, hoc eſt incerto auctore
" [*autore incerto*] . . . & in Hebraicis præcipue curavimus,
" ut quam minimum ab archetypis & his antiquiſſimis diſ-
" cederemus . . . . . Porro fatemur ingenue hoc negotii
" ἐκ ἀνευθητέως, [ἐκ ἄνευ θητέως,] quod aiunt, nos confeciſſe,
" ſed adjutus [*adjutos*] opera doctiſſimi pariter & humaniſſimi
" Patris Conradi [*Chonradi*] Pellicani Rubeaquenſis, ex
" familia D. [*divi*] Franciſci cujus auſpicio potiſſimum hæc
" res peracta eſt." What ſhall we ſay to all this? I have
' certainly ſtrong reaſons to queſtion whether Le Long ever

extremely desirous of learning foreign languages, especially what he calls the Chaldee, for which he was

'saw an edition of what is commonly called *Erasmus's St.* '*Jerom*, bearing the date of 1518: except some copy or 'copies of the first edition should be supposed to have been 'sold with a new title bearing such a date. But even this 'I have strong reasons to disbelieve. The most, in short, 'I can grant is, that considering the more general use, and 'of course the more general demand, of the eighth vo- 'lume, or even of the very separable part of it which con- 'tains the Polyglott Psalter; some copies of either may 'have been sold singly with any fresher title and date, in 'order to please that very common sort of buyers who will 'by all means be served with the newest edition. A copy 'of the intire eighth volume I can shew, the date of which, 'in the title-page, is so late as 1527. But then, on the very 'back of that title page, is printed a short Preface by 'Bruno Amerbachius, the original date of which is thus pre- 'served: *Idibus Januariis. Anno M.D.XVI:* and in which he 'declares that a peculiar Preface shall be given to the Poly- 'glott Psalter. Now this peculiar Preface is certainly the 'same from which the above abstracts have been taken by 'Le Long; and, being likewise printed on the back of the 'Psalter's title-page, preserves also the original date of 'the said year 1516: from which circumstances, without 'descending to more minute particulars, it is plain, I think, 'that this Psalter, being two years more antient than Pot- 'ken's, ought to have been placed before it. Nay, I would 'fain ask, if it might not dispute the precedency even with 'Porrus's? And this at least I can affirm, that Porrus's 'date is *Mense* VIIIIbri, and Amerbach's VIII *Calend. Sep-*

was deſtitute of any proper maſter; ſome Æthiopian Fryars happened to be at Rome (as he expreſſes it), *pere-*

'*tembreis*. Neither could it well be urged as a deciſive 'point in favour of Porrus's, that its date is at the end of 'the work, while Amerbach's is only at the end of a Pre-'face, on the very back of the title-page, which apparently 'was printed the firſt of all, and that the time required to 'print the reſt might retard the diſpatch of the whole book 'beyond the month of November. For, not to mention 'the Printer's well-known and almoſt prodigious diligence, 'who, by taking proper meaſures before-hand, and ſetting 'ſeveral preſſes at work for the ſame book, might have done 'with it before the laſt-mentioned month; it will be ſuffi-'cient to obſerve, *in the firſt place*, That the firſt ſheet of 'the firſt *Quaternio*, though ready for the preſs, may have 'been purpoſely left with a blank page (either worked-off 'or not), until the blank page could be filled up with a 'Preface, in which the Editors, conformably to reaſon, might 'ſpeak of their performance as of a work already executed. '—*Secondly*, That, without going a great way for an actual 'example of what I ſuppoſe *may* have been practiſed in this 'caſe, a ſhining example of it we have at hand in the very 'next ninth and laſt volume; the final date of which ſpecify-'ing the month of *May* 1516, the Preface nevertheleſs is 'dated *June* the 26 (*Sexto Kalendas Julias*).—*Thirdly*, That, 'of all the dates in the whole ſet which mark the month, the 'oldeſt being (T. II. fol. verſo 191) of Auguſt 1515, none 'is ſo late in 1516 as that of the Polyglott Pſalter in queſtion. 'From which reaſons it is plain to me that the book might 'have been ready for ſale, if not preciſely on the 25th of 'Auguſt (VIII *Calend. Septembreis*) at fartheſt a few days 'after; two months, not to ſay three, before Porrus had 'printed

peregrinationis causa, to whom he eagerly applied: and that, from his intercourse with them, he had acquired

'printed his final date of *November*, without marking the 'day; which, if one of the last in the month, he had some 'reason to suppress, that it might not look near four full 'months remote from the first of August; this being the 'date of Justiniani's dedication to the Pope, and the dedi-'cation having probably been printed when he hoped, and 'perhaps promised, that against such a time the whole should 'be finished. But, be this as it will, I think I have said 'enough to make good what I hinted above, that the Poly-'glott Psalter of Basil might dispute the precedency with that 'of Genoa.—By all this, however, I am far from pretend-'ing to make *Erasmus* the first Editor of Polyglott Books: 'and I firmly believe that when Le Long inserted these 'words, *Cura & studio Desid. Erasmi*, he did it without any 'other foundation than the common opinion which ascribes 'to *Erasmus* the whole business of preparing this Edition of 'Jerom's works; though he so little meddled with Hebrew, 'that when he had occasion for it, *en passant*, he would not 'proceed without requiring the assistance of the two brothers '*Bruno* and *Basil Amerbach*. So that Le Long, instead of '*Cura & studio Desid. Erasmi*, might rather have said, *Cura* '*& studio Brunonis & Basilii Amerbachiorum* (or, as they used 'to spell it, *Amorbachiorum*). This I infer from their joint 'Address to the Reader, at the head of Tome the Fifth; 'where also the Reader is informed of some particulars 'which may serve as a good, or even necessary, comment 'upon the fifth page of Erasmus's dedication to Archbishop 'Warham. I. That when Erasmus [who by the bye had 'himself collected materials towards an edition by him 'intended

acquired ſuch a knowledge of their language, as to make him believe he might undertake an edition of the

‘ intended of St. Jerom's works] came to Baſil; he found ‘ great proviſions and preparations already made [for the ‘ ſame purpoſe], at the expence, and by the care, of their ‘ now deceaſed Father, *John Amerbach:* who, after procuring ‘ St. Ambroſe's and St. Auſtin's works, printed *ſuis typis*, ‘ had reſolved to go on with St. Jerom's. II. That their ‘ father, intending to make them collaborators in that work, ‘ had furniſhed them with ſome knowledge *(qualicunque ‘ peritia*, as they term it) in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew ‘ languages. III. That Eraſmus having taken upon him ‘ the care of the four firſt Tomes, the care of the five laſt ‘ became their lot. And accordingly, in all the ſubſequent ‘ Addreſſes to the Reader, we find them (though under the ‘ ſole name of *Bruno)* ſpeaking as Editors; yet making ho- ‘ nourable mention of the Learned to whoſe aſſiſtance they ‘ acknowledged themſelves much indebted. And let me add, ‘ that they not only never ſpeak as Printers, but expreſs ‘ themſelves in ſuch a manner as to leave all the honours of ‘ the printing-office to *John Froben:* ſo that, in Le Long's ‘ account, it was a new miſtake to write *Typis Amerbachii:* a ‘ miſtake, however, which Maittaire himſelf, in *his* account, ‘ has not avoided, his words being, p. 124: *Eodem anno quo ‘ Juſtinianus ſuum Pſalterium Pentaglotton edidit; Baſileæ ab ‘ Amerbachio Pſalterium triglotton . . . excuſum eſt.*—Some- ‘ thing more might be added in order to rectify, by the pre- ‘ ſent account of Eraſmus's Jerom, ſome inaccuracies which ‘ may puzzle or miſlead the reader, in the accounts given ‘ of it by the very beſt and lateſt writers of Eraſmus's Life: ‘ but I think that this hint alone may be ſufficient. The ‘ only

the Æthiopic Pſalter; which was actually publiſhed at Rome nearly five years before the date of his Polyglott performance. At the end of the above-mentioned addreſs, he promiſed to perform ſomething in the Arabic, if he ſhould meet with ſufficient encouragement.

The famous Bible of Cardinal XIMENES, commonly called the *Complutenſian*, conſiſts of ſix large folio volumes; having the Hebrew [*d*], Latin, and Greek, in

'only addition in which I ſhall indulge myſelf, will be to 'preſent the Reader with a kind of Inſcription in capitals, 'which is very conſpicuous at the end of the laſt volume; 'and by which we may be made, in ſome meaſure, to un-'derſtand, not only how far Froben is to be looked upon 'as connected with, or diſtinguiſhed from, the Amerbachs; 'but alſo, what that *Society* was, which I remember is ſome-'where ſpoken of by Eraſmus himſelf (if I miſtake not), 'who relates, that on his refuſing with ſome obſtinacy a 'conſiderable ſum offered him by Froben, and urging that 'he thought ſuch a ſum too conſiderable from a man even 'in his circumſtances, Froben at laſt prevailed by aſſuring 'him, that the offer he made was not at his own private 'expence, but at the expence of the *Society*. The ſaid 'Inſcription is as follows: "BASILEAE IN AEDIBVS IO. "FROBENNII IMPENDIO BRVNONIS, BASILII ET BONIFACII "AMORBACHIORVM, AC IOANNIS FROBENNII CHALCO-"GRAPHI ET IACOBI RECHBVRGII CIVIVM BASILIENSIVM. "MENSE MAIO. AN. M.D XVI." C. D. M.—Mr. De MISSY had two copies of POTKEN's *Pſalter*, the beſt of which was ſold for no more than 18 ſhillings. N.

[*d*] The Hebrew text in this edition was corrected by ALPHONSUS,

in three distinct columns, and the Chaldee paraphrase, with a Latin interpretation, at the bottom of the page, the margin being filled with the Hebrew and Chaldee radicals. It was begun in 1502, finished in 1517, but not published till 1522. A more particular account of it may be seen in LE LONG, in MAITTAIRE, and in DE BURE [e].

In 1546 appeared, at Constantinople, "Pentateuchus Hebræo-Chaldæo-Persico-Arabicus," in three columns; the Hebrew text in the middle; on the right hand the Persic version of R. JACOB fil. JOSEPH; and on the left the Chaldee paraphrase of ONKELOS: at the top is the Arabic paraphrase of SAADIAS, and at the bottom the commentary of RASI. The whole is printed in Hebrew characters with points, the middle column on a larger size than the

ALPHONSUS, a physician of Complutum, PAULUS CORONELLUS, and ALPHONSUS ZAMORA, who were all converts from Judaism to Christianity. The manuscripts it was printed from had undergone the Masoretical castigation. See Dr. KENNICOTT, Diss. II. p. 475. N.

[e] In the first edition of this little tract, we gave our readers reason to hope for some further remarks on the COMPLUTENSIAN Bible, and on the edition of PLANTINUS. If the life of our valuable Friend had been prolonged, that hope would not have been disappointed. With his usual alacrity and benevolence, he had actually collected many materials, and begun to methodize his thoughts on the subject: what was done, Mrs. DE MISSY has kindly permitted us to annex to the present publication; and, though in an unfinished state, will be deemed an acquisition to polite letters. B. & N.

others. At the end of Geneſis appears, "Abſolutus "eſt liber Geneſeos in domo ELIEZERIS BERAB "GERSON Soncinatis [*f*]."

In 1547, was publiſhed, from the ſame preſs, "Pen-"tateuchus Hebraicus, Hiſpanicus, & Barbaro-Græ-"cus." This edition was alſo printed in three columns; the Hebrew Text in the middle; the old Spaniſh verſion on the right hand; and on the left, the *modern* Greek, as uſed by the Caraïtes at Conſtantinople, who do not underſtand Hebrew. The Spaniſh is deſigned for the Refugee Spaniſh Jews. At the head and bottom of the pages are the Targum and the Commentary, as in the former editions [*g*].

The *Royal* or *Spaniſh* Polyglott was printed at Antwerp, by CHRISTOPHER PLANTINUS, 1569—1572, by authority of Philip II, King of Spain, in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Chaldee, under the direction of ARIAS MONTANUS, in eight volumes, folio; containing, beſides the whole of the Complutenſian edition, a Chaldee paraphraſe on part of the Old Teſtament, which Cardinal XIMENES had depoſited in the theological library at Complutum, having particular reaſons for not publiſhing it. The New Teſtament had the Syriac verſion, and the Latin tranſlation of SANTES PAGNINUS as reformed by ARIAS MONTANUS [*b*]. This work was alſo enriched with

[*f*] LE LONG, p. 45. [*g*] Ibid. p. 46.

[*b*] "We need ſay the leſs of this great work; as it is "not pretended, that the leaſt *correction* was made in this "edition of the Hebrew Text. Indeed no ſuch thing could "poſſibly

with various Grammars and Dictionaries of the ſeveral languages it conſiſts of.

In 1586 a Polyglott Bible was publiſhed at Heidelberg, in two volumes, folio; printed in four columns, Hebrew, Greek, and two Latin verſions, viz. St. JEROM's and that of PAGNINUS; with the notes of VATABLUS; and in the margin are the idioms, and the *radices* of all the difficult words. Two other dates have been ſeen to this edition, viz. 1599 and 1616; but LE LONG, after an attentive compariſon, declares them to be only different copies of the ſame impreſſion; but that ſome them have the Greek Teſtament with the addition of the Latin verſion of ARIAS MONTANUS [*i*].

"poſſibly be expected from an Editor who believed the "perfection of the Hebrew Text—*quanta integritate* (ſays "he) *ſemper conſervata fuerint Biblia Hebræa, plerique doc-* "*tiſſimi viri conſtanter aſſeverarunt*, &c. HODY, p. 516, "517." Dr. KENNICOTT, Diſſ. II. p. 477. This edition (which is particularly mentioned in LE LONG, p. 20.) is deſcribed by M. DE BURE as a work moſt beautifully printed; but, on account of the great number of treatiſes it contains, it is difficult to arrange the volumes properly. Mr. DE MISSY, from whom I flattered myſelf I ſhould have received an accurate relation of this edition, had a good copy of it; which happening to be but in indifferent binding, was ſold for no more than ſeven pounds, to Mr. MAC CARTHY, who purchaſed many other articles, and particularly many little French curioſities. N.

[*i*] "Quæ ſub VATABLI nomine circumferuntur Biblia, "ejus non ſunt; annotationeſque eidem adſcriptæ auctorem "habent ROBERTUM STEPHANUM." WALTON, Prolog. iv. p. 33. See LE LONG, p. 15.

In

In 1596, JACOBUS LUCIUS printed an edition, in Greek, Latin, and German, at Hamburgh, in four volumes, folio, "Studio DAVIDIS WOLDERI;" the Greek from the Venice edition of 1518 [*k*]; the Latin verſions thoſe of St. JEROM and PAGNINUS.

In 1599, ELIAS HUTTERUS publiſhed one at Noremberg, in ſix languages; four of them, the Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, and Latin, printed from the Antwerp edition; the fifth was the German verſion of

[*k*] LE LONG, p. 26.—FABRICIUS, *Bibliotheca Græca*, ſays the ſame. But the editor, WOLDERUS himſelf, in his Preface, ſpeaks thus: "De LXX interpretum Græcâ, deque "Latinâ HIERONYMI, ut putatur, verſione nihil moneo: "niſi quod ſcire tua non parum, opinor, intereſt; in iis, "Plantinianam editionem me eſſe ſequutum: quod cor-"rectior quidem quæ eſſet nulla ſeſe mihi offerret." As far as can be judged from a collation of ſome paſſages, it appears that he followed the edition of PLANTINUS, but uſed his own judgement in the punctuation and other leſs material particulars. The new Latin verſion, here printed, appears to be, not that of PAGNINUS (though ſaid to be his by WOLDERUS); but rather that which ROBERT STEPHENS publiſhed in 1557, corrected from the obſervations of PAGNINUS and VATABLUS. The New Teſtament is the firſt of BEZA, which R. STEPHENS printed in 1556, with the ſame types which he uſed in the following year for the abovementioned Latin verſion of the Old Teſtament.—We are indebted for this note to the MS. annotations which Mr. DE MISSY had made many years ago on the margin of his copy of LE LONG's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, ſuch as it is in the Leipſic edition of 1709.—Mr. DE MISSY's copy of WOLDERUS was ſold for half a guinea, and is now in THE ROYAL LIBRARY. N.

LUTHER:

LUTHER; and the ſixth the Sclavonic verſion of Wittemberg [*l*]. This Bible was never completed, and goes no farther than the book of *Ruth*.

The next work of this kind was, "Biblia Sacra "Polyglotta, ſtudio GUY MICHAELIS LE JAY. Pa- "riſiis, apud Antonium Vitray, 1628, & ann. ſeqq. "ad 1645," in ten volumes, very large folio. This edition, which is extremely magnificent [*m*], contains all that is in thoſe of XIMENES and PLANTINUS, with the addition of the Syriac and Arabic verſion.

This was ſoon followed by "Biblia Sacra Poly- "glotta, complectentia textus originales, Hebraïc. "Chaldaïc. & Græc. Pentateuchum Samaritanum, "& Verſiones Antiquas, cum apparatu, appendi-

[*l*] Inſtead of the Sclavonic, ſome copies were printed with the French verſion of Geneva; others, with the Italian of the ſame city; and others again with a Saxon verſion from the German of LUTHER.—HUTTERUS publiſhed the Pſalter and New Teſtament in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German. He alſo publiſhed the New Teſtament in TWELVE languages; viz. Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, Italian, Spaniſh, and French, in one page; and Latin, German, Bohemian, Engliſh, Daniſh, and Poloneſe, in another. CALMET, ubi ſupra. See LE LONG, p. 26.—In Mr. DE MISSY's catalogue appeared, "Hutteri Biblia Polyglotta, & Nov. Teſt. "vol. 2." The *two* volumes were ſold to THE BRITISH MUSEUM, for half a guinea. N.

[*m*] The Samaritan Pentateuch was firſt printed in it, with its verſion, from MSS. brought into Europe between the year 1620 and 1630, under the care of the very learned MORINUS. See Dr. KENNICOTT, Diſſ. II. p. 478. N.

"cibus & annotationibus; ſtudio & opera BRIANI "WALTON. Londini 1657, & ann. ſeqq." [n] in four

[n] *Nine* languages are uſed in this edition; yet there is no *one* book in the whole Bible printed in ſo many. In the New Teſtament the Four Evangeliſts are in *ſix* languages; the other books only in *five*; thoſe of Judith and the Maccabees only in *three*. The Septuagint verſion is printed from the edition at Rome, anno 1587. The Latin is the Vulgate of CLEMENT VIII. The Chaldee Paraphraſe is completer than any former publication. The edition is enriched with Prefaces, Prolegomena, Treatiſes on Weights and Meaſures, Geographical Charts, and Chronological Tables. CALMET, ubi ſupra, p. viii.—Dr. WALTON was aſſiſted in this laborious undertaking by Dr. EDMUND CASTELL, who tranſlated from the Syriac ſome fragments of Daniel, the books of Tobit and Judith, the Letters of Jeremiah and Baruch, and the firſt book of the Maccabees; he alſo tranſlated the Song of Solomon from the Æthiopic into Latin, and added notes to the Samaritan Pentateuch; but the moſt conſiderable aſſiſtance he gave was by his Lexicon in two volumes, a work which is a neceſſary ſupplement to the Polyglott.—ALEXANDER HUISSE *collected* the *various Readings* at the bottom of each page; reviſed the Septuagint verſion, the Greek Text of the New Teſtament, and the Latin Vulgate; he alſo collated the edition of the Old Teſtament printed at Rome, and the New Teſtament of ROBERT STEPHENS, with the Alexandrine manuſcript. See PRIDEAUX, vol. II. p. 47. Dr. THOMAS HYDE corrected the Arabic, Syriac, and Perſic; as LEUSDEN did the Æthiopic verſion of the New Teſtament. LOUIS LE DIEU and SAMUEL CLARKE were alſo aſſiſtants

four volumes [o]. To which was added, "Lexicon "Heptaglotton, Hebraïcum, Chaldaïcum, Syriacum, "Samaritanum, Æthiopicum, Arabicum, & Perſi- "cum, digeſtum & evulgatum ab Edmundo Caſ- "tello [p], 1686," in two volumes more. This may properly be called a new edition of LE JAY, with improvements; no pains having been ſpared in making it as perfect as poſſible: the whole was reviſed with

aſſiſtants in the work. LE LONG, p. 33, &c.—"The im- "menſe merit of this work is too well known to need any "laboured recommendation. And yet, it muſt be obſerved, "that in *This*, the beſt and moſt uſeful of all editions, the "Hebrew Text is printed *Maſoretically*; almoſt in an ab- "ſolute agreement with the many former editions, and with "the lateſt and worſt Miſſ." KENNICOTT, Diſſ. II. p. 480. N.

[o] This Polyglott was publiſhed by ſubſcription, and was the firſt book that was ever printed in that manner in England. BLOME, a notorious plagiary, afterwards carried the practice of publiſhing books by ſubſcription to a greater height than any of his contemporaries.—In the "Collectanea "Eccleſiaſtica" of Sam. Brewſter Eſq. Lond. 1752, 4to. is an Engliſh treatiſe by Bp. WALTON, called, "A Treatiſe "concerning the Payment of Tyths in London." In the Life of Dr. Edward Brook, prefixed to his "Theological "Works," are ſome curious particulars relating to the London Polyglott. See GRANGER, vol. II. p. 19. Towards the printing of the work, Dr. WALTON had contributions of money from many noble perſons, which were put into the hands of Sir William Hamble, treaſurer for the work. N.

[p] See p. 134. Some account of Dr. CASTELL will be given at the end of this pamphlet.

great

great care, and accurately corrected; and it is juſtly conſidered as the moſt uſeful of all the Polyglotts, though LE JAY's is the handſomeſt. Dr. WALTON's edition was ſuppoſed by Mr. PALMER to have been printed from ſheets ſurreptitiouſly obtained from the preſs at Paris; and to have been publiſhed with improvements ſo ſoon after, as to reduce M. LE JAY almoſt to want, after having expended above £. 5000 ſterling to compleat his work [q]. But Mr. PALMER miſtook the date of LE JAY's *Polyglott* (which he makes to be 1657), and then formed his concluſion of the ſheets being ſent into England from Paris; and met with a correſpondent, it ſeems, that encouraged his error. LE JAY's *Polyglott* was publiſhed, in Ten Volumes, MDCXLV: The Engliſh *Polyglott*, in Six Volumes, not till MDCLVII, twelve years after the other [r]. Under a fine head of Dr. WALTON,

[q] It appears by M. DE BURE's account, that LE JAY declined an offer, which had been made him, of ſupplying England with a number of copies at a reaſonable price; and was afterwards obliged to ſell a great part of his impreſſion for waſte paper. N.

[r] Dr. WALTON got leave to import paper, duty-free, in 1652; began the work 1653; and publiſhed it 1657. It is ſurprizing he could get through ſix ſuch volumes in four years; though certainly many Printers were employed on it; among others, Mr. ICABOD DAWKS * of Lowlayton, maternal grandfather to W. BOWYER. But it is plain that, in the re-printed leaf of the Preface, Dr. WALTON

* Of whoſe ſon, ſee The Tatler, No 178.

robe

TON, engraved by LOMBART, and prefixed to his edition of the Polyglott, we are told it was begun only in MDCLIII.—It is ſaid indeed that the Engliſh put out *Propoſals* for a cheaper and better edition, ſoon after LE JAY's was publiſhed, which might in ſome meaſure hinder the ſale of it. But other cauſes concurred. The enormous ſize of the book rendered it inconvenient for uſe; and the price deterred purchaſers. And further, the refuſal of LE JAY to publiſh it under RICHELIEU's name, though that Miniſter, after the example of Cardinal XIMENES, had offered to print it at his own expence, damped the ſale.—The Engliſh Polyglott, in return, made but little way in France. A *large-paper* [*s*] copy was ſold, in 1728, in the library of COLBERT, the ſix volumes bound in fourteen. CASTELL's *Lexicon*,

robs the Protector of the honour of patronizing this work, which was begun in 1652, and publiſhed in 1657; three years before the Reſtoration, 1660. The licenſe was granted by the Council of State in 1652; and was continued by OLIVER, who diſſolved the Rump Parliament in 1653. After the Reſtoration, Dr. WALTON had the honour of preſenting his Bible to king CHARLES II, who made him his chaplain in ordinary, and ſoon after promoted him to the biſhoprick of Cheſter. He was conſecrated Dec. 2, 1660; and died Nov. 29, 1661.

[*s*] M DE BURE ſays, there is a tradition that *no more than twelve copies* of WALTON's Polyglott were printed on large paper, and that it is doubtful whether any of CASTELL's Lexicon were printed in that ſize.

that went along with this ſet, was on a ſmaller-ſized paper. The ſame copy was afterwards ſold to M. DE SELLE, and is now in the curious collection of the Count DE LAURAGUAIS.

The laſt leaf but one of the Preface of WALTON's *Polyglott* is canceled in many copies; a circumſtantial account of which we are enabled to lay before the Reader in the words of a learned Friend, to whom this Appendix is already moſt materially indebted.

"To Mr. BOWYER.

"DEAR SIR,

"I will venture to be poſitive, that I never ſpoke "a word before this, concerning two different *Dedi-* "*cations* of WALTON's Polyglott; though I remem- "ber ſomething that may have been the occaſion of "ſomebody's thinking I did. The fact is, to the beſt "of my remembrance,

"I. That when we met at Cambridge [nineteen or "twenty years ago], and, in company with ſeveral "other perſons, viſited the Library of Trinity-Col- "lege, a gentleman, on my taking notice there were "two copies of the ſaid Polyglott, dropt a hint about "exchanging duplicates for other books:

"II. That upon this I made bold to obſerve—Du- "plicates were not always a mere ſuperfluity, eſpe- "cially in public libraries, where they might have "been intended to be kept together for curioſity's "ſake, on account of ſome remarkable difference

"between

" between them; which might even be the caſe with " the very books juſt taken notice of:

" III. That accordingly, the firſt volume of one " copy being compared with the firſt volume of the " other, one of the two was found to have in the " *Preface* what its companion had not, a compliment " for (or acknowledgment of obligation to) *the Lord* " *Protector and his Council*; which I think is only " preſerved in the few copies that were diſpoſed of " before the Reſtoration, and perhaps not in all of " them; ſince the ſame courtly loyalty by which the " Republican leaf containing the ſaid compliment had " been canceled, might very well induce ſome prudent " or cunning people to tear it out of the copies in " their poſſeſſion, and get it replaced by its more " loyal ſubſtitute, the re-printed leaf; in which Crom- " well's praiſe is not more to be looked for, than his " bones in the Chapel of Henry the Seventh:

" IV. That in the firſt edition of the ſaid leaf, " where the compliment for *the Protector and his* " *Council* offers itſelf connected with a previous com- " pliment of the ſame kind for *another Council ante-* " *cedent to Cromwell's Protectorate*, we found *this* (the " laſt-mentioned compliment) ſo introduced and ſo " worded, as Walton's profeſſed gratitude *naturally* " would have it to be: inſtead of which, the *ſecond* " edition has nothing but a faint ſhadow of it, in " a few vague words, introduced only by way of " parentheſis; and ſo *well choſen*, however, that " uncautious readers might as eaſily take them for an

" indiſpenſable act of gratitude to the *King's* Council,
" as for a joyful effuſion of gratitude to a Council,
" *ſet up by his enemies:* the different readings of the
" two editions (both with regard to Cromwell or *his*
" Council, and the Privy-Council of the Common-
" wealth) being *exactly ſuch* as you ſhall ſee preſently;
" unleſs I made ſome blunder in tranſcribing, from
" the firſt edition, the moſt material part of the
" paſſage they belong to; which indeed was diſ-
" patched in a great hurry, while the company near
" me were talking *(ut fit)* about any thing elſe.

" Suppoſing then a full agreement of the two edi-
" tions as far as I took notice of no variety, the whole
" paſſage in the firſt muſt be deemed to run as follows:
" ſave only that I ſhall write in large capitals the word
" which makes the beginning of the place that has
" been altered: " Utque eorum conatus qui collatis
" ſtudiis adjumento nobis fuerunt lubenter agnoſci-
" mus, ſic nullo non obſequii genere proſequendi
" Mæcenates munifici, qui ubertim donaria ſua ad
" ſacrum opus promovendum obtulerunt, quorum
" meritis cum pares non ſimus, quod unum poſſu-
" mus, grata mente recolimus, & in devotiſſimæ
" obſervantiæ, perpetuique cultus & obſequii ſignum,
" beneficentiam eorum hic omnibus teſtatam facimus.
" PRIMO autem commemorandi, quorum favore
" chartam à vectigalibus immunem habuimus, quod
" quinque abhinc annis, à *Concilio* ſecretiori, primo
" conceſſum, poſtea à Sereniſſimo D. PROTECTORE
" ejuſque *Concilio*, operis promovendi cauſa, benigne

" confirmatum & continuatum erat. Quibus ſub-
" jungendi, D. Carolus Ludovicus, princeps Pala-
" tin. S. R. I. Elector: Illuſtriſſimus D. Gulielmus
" &c." In *my* copy, which is one of *the loyal ſort* [*t*],
" the latter part of the paſſage (from the word
" PRIMO, down to the name *Carolus)* is reformed or
" transformed in this manner: " Inter hos effuſiore
" bonitate labores noſtros proſecuti ſunt (praeter eos
" quorum favore chartam à vectigalibus immunem
" habuimus) Sereniſſimus Princeps D. Carolus &c."

" All I can ſay further on this ſubject is, that the
" paſſage I ſpeak of being the only one I collated,
" ſomething more perhaps of the ſame kind might
" be diſcovered by a more extenſive collation [*u*]. The
" page that contains the paſſage is the laſt-but-one
" of the Preface, and the *ſecond* of the re-printed

[*t*] This copy was purchaſed by Mr. GRENVILLE, for 17 *l.* N.

[*u*] The following variations have been noticed in the leaf of the *Preface* which immediately precedes this, and which appears alſo to have been re-printed:

P. 7. *l. ult.* impoſuimus *(as it ſtood in what may be called the* Republican *copy) is changed into* appoſuimus

P. 8. *l.* 7. exhibeatur *into* exhibetur

l. 27. impulerint ut opus *into* impulerint ut temporibus hiſce turbulentis, cum Religio et Literæ oſtraciſmum quaſi paſſæ videantur, opus.

The late indefatigable Mr. HOLLIS took great pains to diſcover the variations between theſe two *Prefaces*; but thoſe abovementioned are all which have been obſerved. B. & N.

" leaf;

" leaf; in the *firſt* of which (at a ſmall diſtance " from the bottom) I obſerve that Walton, mention- " ing what we may call his *literary* obligations to " ſome eminent churchmen, once chaplains to the " unfortunate Charles, not only ſtiles them *Sacræ* " *Theologiæ Doctores*, but addeth, *& Regi Carolo τῷ* " *ἐν ἁγίοις olim Capellani.* Now this place at leaſt " (I own) I ſhould like to compare with the firſt im- " preſſion, and I am ſorry I took no notice of it " when I had an opportunity; though indeed not ſo " ſorry on that account, as on account of having " made you ſtay ſo long for an anſwer; which how- " ever would have been ready much ſooner, had my " health better agreed with my inclination to ſhew " myſelf, Dear Sir,

Balſover-Street, 21 April, 1770.

" Your moſt obedient humble ſervant, " CÆSAR DE MISSY."

Before we quit this edition, we ſhall take the liberty to obſerve, on the authority, and in the words, of the critical Friend to whom we are indebted for the Hebrew collation in our Appendix N° II, " that " the latter part of the Engliſh Polyglott is much " more incorrectly printed than the former; pro- " bably either owing to the Editor's abſence from " the preſs, or to his being over-fatigued by the " work. This will appear in very obvious inſtances, " if we caſt our eye only on the title *Targum Jona-* " *than* תרגום יונתן. which is often printed falſely " in Hoſea, Joel, Amos, Micah, Nahum, Zechariah, " particularly

" particularly ch. xiv. p. 138, where both words are " miſprinted.

" But this is not the worſt. The *Hebrew Text* ſuf- " fered much in ſeveral places by the rapidity of the " publication. To multiply inſtances, would be invi- " dious. I ſhall therefore mention only one; which " occurs in Gen. xxxiv. 1. where we read דונא in- " ſtead of דינה.

" There is alſo in the *Samaritan* Text, according " to the *Engliſh* Polyglott, a very grievous blunder; " entirely owing to the heedleſs tranſpoſition of two " words ערב and בקר, Gen. i. 19, by which that " text, in contradiction to itſelf elſewhere, ſays, " and " the *morning* and the *evening* were the fourth day." " And this, as the *tranſlation* is different, I take to " have been an error of the Editor, and not of the " copy from which he printed.

" Nor is this the only error, for in Gen. iii. 2. הכחש " is falſely printed for הנחש. So again Gen. iv. 5. " מנחתו for מנחנו.

" But this is nothing, comparatively ſpeaking, to " what we meet with a little below, at ver. 7. where " the ſecond תטיב is unluckily omitted in its proper " place; and then inſerted after רבץ, with a repeti- " tion of the word לפתח, to the utter confuſion of " the ſenſe of the paſſage—for, literally tranſlated, it " runs thus: *Nonne, ſi benefeceris, recipies? ſi autem* " *non, ad portam peccatum cubat, benefeceris ad portam.*

" Theſe are glaring inſtances of unpardonable ne- " gligence; and the more unpardonable, becauſe " they

" they ſtand at the *entrance* of a work, which juſtly " required the greateſt care, and the utmoſt ac- " curacy.

" I ſhall only add, what, in obedience to truth, I " am bound to add, that the *French* Polyglott is en- " tirely clear of all *theſe* errors; and indeed of many " *others*, which the attentive Reader will find ſcat- " tered through the *Engliſh* Polyglott."

In the *Preface* alſo are the following inaccuracies:

P. 1. *laſt paragraph but one*, *r.* καλλακλυσμός *

P. 3. *l.* 1. *for* variant *r.* varient

l. 23. *for* 1615 *r.* 1515

l. 15. *from bottom*, *for* Teſtimenti *r.* Teſtamenti

P. 5. *l.* 23. *for* Quinti *r.* Quarti

l. 22. *from bottom*, *for* Pariſ. ex *r.* Pariſ. quæ ex

l. 5. *from bottom*, *for* opus in *r.* opus ni

P. 6. *l.* 20. *for* occurrunt *r.* occurrit †

l. 17. *from bottom*, *for* Plantina *r.* Plantini ‡

l. 7. *from bottom*, *for* Haphtorarum *r.* Haphtararum

P. 9. *l.* 20. *from bottom*, *for* pertimeſeret *r.* pertimeſceret.

* WALTON's word is καλλακλύσμαλα, which makes an odd appearance at the head of ſuch *inaccuracies* as are mere *Errata Typographica*. The word was probably of his own making; and he might take it to be formed as regularly as ἐκκλύσμαλα. C. D. M.

† The place is certainly faulty, as *quicquid* . . . . *occurrunt* will never paſs. But in what word the fault lies is perhaps not ſo certain. Perhaps, for *quicquid*, we ſhould read *quæcunque*. C. D. M.

‡ This whole line is very bad; and a thorough reviſion of it would, perhaps, make us queſtion whether *Plantiniana* for *Plantina* would not do as well as *Plantini*. C. D. M.

N° IV.

A LIST of all the Cities and Towns in which Books are known to have been publiſhed with Names and Dates in the FIFTEENTH CENTURY; with the Date of the firſt Book, and (as far as can be diſcovered) the Name of the FIRST PRINTER, in each Place. Extracted principally from MAITTAIRE's Annales Typographici Tomi Primi Pars Poſterior, *Amſt.* 1733, p. 187, & ſeqq.

Abbeville,	John du Pré, and Peter Gerard,	1486
St. Alban's,	Anonymus *,	1480
Alcala di Henares [Complutum],	Anonymus,	1494
Aloſt,	Jo. de Weſtphalia, / Theodoric Martens,	1474
Altavilla † [in Italy],	Nicholas Bechtermuntze,	1469
Angers,	John Alexander,	1498
Angoulême,	Anonymus,	1493
Antwerp,	Anonymus, / Gerard Leeu,	1479 / 1480
Aquila [in Abrunno],	Adam de Rotwil,	1482
Augsburg,	John Bemler,	1466
Avignon,	Nicholas Lepe,	1497
Auſtria (city of) ‡,	Gerard of Flanders,	1480
Bamberg, or *Bemberg*,	John Pfeil,	1499
Barcelona,	Anonymus,	1473
Baſle,	Anonymus, / Bernard Richel,	1475 / 1476

* See above, p. 41. † Ibid. p. 87. ‡ Vienna?

Bergamo,	Anonymus,	1498
Berlin,	Anonymus,	1484
Beſançon,	Anonymus,	1487
Bois-le-Duc,	Anonymus,	1487
Boulogne *,	Balthazar Azoguidus,	1471
Bourges,	Anonymus,	1493
	Frederik Alemanus,	1496

* According to Mr. MAITTAIRE, the firſt book printed at Boulogne was OVID's Works, in which is the following colophon: "Hujus opera omnia "Medea excepta & triumpho Cæſaris, & libello illo Pontica lingua compoſito, "quæ incuria temporum perierunt, Balthazer Azoguidus civis Bononienſis, "honeſtiſſimo loco natus, primus in ſua civitate artis impreſſoriæ inventor, &c. "impreſſit, M.CCCC.LXXI." This claim is, however, in ſome meaſure overthrown, by a book which appeared in Dr. ASKEW's Catalogue, N° 2837. "Ptolomæi (Claudii) Coſmographiæ Libri VIII. Bonon. Impreſſ. per Domini- "cum de Lapis, 1462." Of this edition, M. DE BURE (Bibliographie Inſtructive, 1768, Liv. rares, tom. I. N° 419.) has given a very particular account, exactly agreeing with Dr. ASKEW's copy, which I examined; and which was purchaſed, at his ſale, for The Royal Library, at the price of fifteen guineas and a half. M. DE BURE obſerves, "that it is ſo extremely "ſcarce, as to have eſcaped the attention of moſt collectors; and that even thoſe "who have had an idea of its exiſtence have ſpoken of it in a moſt imperfect "manner, from not having had an opportunity of ſeeing it; whence many diſ- "putes have ariſen on the authenticity of its date." It is divided into two parts; the firſt containing the printed text, the ſecond twenty-ſix geographical charts, each printed on a whole ſheet. At the end of the firſt part, is this colophon:

"Hic finit coſmographia ptolomei impreſſa
"op'a domini de lapis civis bononie'ſis.
"ANNO M.CCCC.LXII.
"MENSE IVNII XXIII."

On a very cloſe examination of this date, it muſt be owned, no ſigns of deception appear; there has certainly been nothing eraſed; nor is it at all probable that any artifice has been uſed. M. DE BURE very ingeniouſly ſuppoſes the like miſtake may have happened as is pointed out (p. 23.) in JENSON's *Decor Puellarum*; and that, an x being omitted, we ſhould read M.CCCC.LXXII. I cannot but think this highly probable; and, in confirmation of it, would obſerve, that this edition of PTOLOMY has ſignatures (though irregularly diſpoſed, as if not fully acquainted with their uſe), which have not been noticed in any book of earlier date than 1470. See above, p. 28. N.

Breſcia,

Breſcia,	Henry of Cologn, Statius Gallicus,	1474
Bruges,	Colard Manſion,	1476
Brunæ [Q. *Brunſwick*],	Anonymus,	1488
Bruſſels,	Anonymus,	1476
Buda,	Andrew Heſs,	1473
Burgdorf,	Anonymus,	1475
Caen,	Jacobus Durand,	1480
Caragoſſa [*Saragoſſa*],	Anonymus,	1491
	Pablo Hurus,	1499
Coll,	Bonus Gallus,	1478
Cologn,	John Köelhoff,	1470
Conſtance,	Anonymus,	1489
Conſtantinople,	Anonymus,	1490
Convent of Regulars at Schconhoven,	Anonymus,	1500
In agro CAREGIO *,		1489
Coſenza,	Octavius Salmonius,	1478
Cracow,	Anonymus,	1500
Cremona,	Bernard de Miſintis,	1485
Deventer [in Overyſſel], a city in Lower Saxony,	Anonymus,	1472
	Richard Paffroit,	1477
Delft,	Jacob Jacops,	1477
Dijon,	Anonymus,	1491
Dole,	John Hebertus,	1492
Eichſtedt,	Michael Reiſer,	1488
Erfort,	Anonymus,	1482
Ergow,	Elias fil. Eliæ,	1470
Eſlingen [in Suabia],	Conrad Fyner,	1475
Ferrara,	Andrew Gallus,	1471
Florence,	Bernard and Dominick Cenini,	1472
Friburg,	Kilianus,	1493
Gaieta,	Juſto,	1488
Ghent,	Anonymus,	1483
	Arend de Keyſere,	1485

* Q. Where ſituated?

Gebennenſi *,	Anonymus,	1481
Geneva,	Anonymus,	1478
	Jacobus Arnollet,	1498
Genoa,	Mathias Moravus,	1474
Gentiæ [Q. *Ghent*],	Anonymus,	1480
S. Giacomo de Rinoli [a monaſtery at Florence],	Dom. de Piſtoria,	1477
Gouda,	Anonymus,	1478
	Gerard Leeu,	1480
Granada,	Anonymus,	1496
Hagenau,	Anonymus,	1475
	Henry Gran,	1496
Harleim,	Jacobus Begaard,	1484
Haſſeleti,	Anonymus,	1481
Heidelberg,	Anonymus,	1480
	Jacobus Knoblocker,	1489
Ingolſtadt,	Anonymus,	1492
Lantriguier,	John Caſney,	1499
Leipſic,	Anonymus,	1481
	Marcus Brandt,	1484
Leiria,	Anonymus,	1494
Lewis,	Anonymus,	1479
Leyden,	Anonymus,	1497
Lignitz [*Lignis*],	Anonymus,	1481
Lintz,	Peter Aſſelin,	1500
Liſbon,	Anonymus,	1491
London,	Anonymus,	1481
	Will. de Machlinia, Q.	1481
	John Lettou †,	1481
	Richard Pynſon,	1493
	Nicholas le Conte,	1494
	Julianus Notaire & J. Barbier,	1498

* In the book whence this *Adjective* was taken, it was probably preceded by a *Subſtantive* indicating ſome place of the *Cévennes*. C. D. M.

† See above, p. 39.

Lovain,

Lovain,	Jo. de Weſtphalia,	1473
Lubeck,	Anonymus,	1471
Lunenberg,	John Luce,	1493
Lyons,	Bartholomew Buyer,	1477
Madrid,	Anonymus,	1494
Magdeburg,	Anonymus,	1483
Mantua,	Tho. Septemcaſtrenſis & ſocii,	1472
Memmingen,	Anonymus,	1483
	Albert Kune,	1490
Mentz,	Fuſt and Schoeffer,	1457
Meſſana,	Anonymus,	1486
	Andrew de Brugis,	1497
Milan,	Anthony Zarot,	1470
Mirandula,	Anonymus,	1496
Modena,	Balthazar de Struciis,	1477
Monreale [in Sicily],	Dominick de Nivaldis & filii,	1481
Monte Monachorum,	John Senſenſchmidt,	1481
Munſter,	John Limburgus,	1486
Nantes,	Stephen Larcher,	1488
Naples,	Sixtus Rieſſenger,	1471
Nimeguen,	Jo. de Weſtphalia,	1479
Noremberg,	Anthony Coburger,	1471
Offenbach,	Anonymus,	1496
Oppenheim,	Anonymus,	1498
Ortona,	Judæi Soncinates,	1496
Oudenarde,	John Cæſar,	1480
Oxford,	Anonymus [Q. Corſellis],	1468
	T. R. *	1480
	Theodoric Rood,	1481
Padua,	Bartholomew de Valdezochio,	1472
Palermo,	Andrew de Wormacia,	1477
Pampelune,	William de Brocario,	1496
Paris, [Q. 1464? †]	Ulric Gering, Martin Crantz, and Michael Friburger,	1470

* See above, p. 31. † See above, p. 106.

Parma,

Parma,	Anonymus,	1472
	Stephen Corallus,	1473
Pavia,	Jacobus de Sancto Petro,	1477
Perpignan,	J. Roſembach,	1500
Perugia,	Stephen Arns,	1481
Peſaro,	Anonymus,	1494
Peſcia,	Sigiſmund Rodt,	1488
Piacenza,	Jo. Peter de Ferratis,	1475
Pigneroli,	Jacobus de Rubeis,	1475
Piſa,	Anonymus,	1482
	Gregory de Gente,	1485
Poitiers,	Anonymus, in ædibus Canonici Eccleſiæ B. Hilarii,	1479
	John de Marnef,	1500
Provins [in Champagne],	William Tavernier,	1497
Quilambourg,	Anonymus,	1480
Reggio,	Proſp. Odoardus, Alb. Maguli,	1481
Reutlingen,	John Averbach,	1469
Rimini,	Anonymus,	1486
Rome,	Conrad Sweynheim, Arnold Pannartz,	1467
Roſtoch,	Preſbyteri et Clerici Congregationis domus viridis horti,	1476
Rouen,	John le Bourgois,	1488
Salamanca,	Anonymus,	1495
Salonichi,	Anonymus,	1493
Scandiani,	Peregrin Paſqual,	1425
Schoonhoven,	Anonymus, in Conventu Regularium,	1500
Sciedami, Sedani, Sedan,	Anonymus,	1498
Seville,	Paul de Colonia,	1491
Siena,	Sigiſmund Rot,	1489
Soncino,	Anonymus,	1484
	Abraham fil. Rabbi Hhaiim,	1488
Sorten Monaſterium,	Anonymus,	1478

Spire,

Spire,	Petrus Drach,	1477
Stockholm,	John Faber,	1495
Straſburgh *,	Henry Eggeſtein,	1471
Sublaco-Abbey,	Anonymus,	1465
Toledo,	Anonymus, John Teller,	1486 1495
Toloufe,	Anonymus,	1486
Treca,	Anonymus, William le Rouge,	1480 1492
Treviſo,	Girard de Liſa de Flandria,	1471
Tubingen,	Fred. Meynberger,	1488
Tunis,	John Fabri and Jo. de Petro,	1474
Tours,	Anonymus, in domo Gulielmi Archiep. Turonenſis,	1467
Valentia,	Anonymus, Alphonſus de Orta,	1475 1496
Venice,	Rotdolt †, Jo. de Spira, Jo. & Vindelin. de Spira, Nicolaus Jenſon, Chriſtopher Baldarfer,	1468 1469 1470
Verona,	Jo. Nicolai filius,	1472
Vicenza,	Hermanus Levilapis,	1475
Vienna,	Anonymus,	1481
Vienne [in Dauphiné],	Peter Schenck,	1484
Viterbo,	Anonymus,	1480
Ulm,	John Zeiner,	1473
Urbino,	Anonymus,	1484
Udine,	Anonymus,	1498
Utrecht,	Nicholas Ketzlaer, Gerard de Lumpt,	1473
Weſtminſter,	William Caxton, Winand de Word,	1477 1495
Zwoll,	Anonymus,	1479

* MENTEL and EGGESTEIN moſt probably practiſed the profeſſion in this city ſoon after 1462. See above, p. 96, 97. † See above, p. 23.

ADDENDUM

ADDENDUM to p. 135.

Dr. EDMUND CASTELL, who had been many years a member of Emanuel College in Cambridge, was, in his advanced age, admitted into St. John's in that univerſity. He was choſen Arabic profeſſor in 1666; to which preferment he was intitled by his merit as an Orientaliſt. He had, ſome years before, given very eminent proofs of his abilities, in the laborious work of the Polyglott. Great part of his life was ſpent in compiling his "Lexicon Heptaglotton," on which he beſtowed incredible pains and expence, even to the breaking of his conſtitution, and exhauſting of his fortune, having expended no leſs than twelve thouſand pounds upon that work. At length, when it was printed, the copies remained unſold upon his hands. He died in 1685; and lies buried in the church of Higham Gobyon in Bedfordſhire, of which he was rector. It appears from the inſcription on his monument, which he erected in his life-time, that he was chaplain to CHARLES II. He bequeathed all his Oriental manuſcripts to the univerſity of Cambridge, on condition that his name ſhould be written on every copy in the collection. See more of him, at the end of "THOMAS DE ELMHAM," publiſhed by HEARNE, p. 356. 427. and in LELAND's "Collectanea," by the ſame Editor, vol. VI. p. 80; alſo in Dr. POCOCKE's "Life," fol. p. 50, Notes; and p. 66. Thus far from GRANGER, vol. II. p. 193. —Some further anecdotes of Dr. CASTELL may be ſeen in the Life of LIGHTFOOT.

N° V.

On the COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOTT.

An unfiniſhed Eſſay [*a*].

THE fifth volume contains the New Teſtament in two columns, one (on the right hand) for the Vulgate, printed in a pretty neat ſizeable Gothic letter: and

[*a*] The apology which has been ſo handſomely made in the unfiniſhed advertiſement prefixed to our late worthy Friend's Fables *, which (the advertiſement only excepted) had been ready for publication ſome time before his death, will account for the imperfect ſtate in which theſe papers appear, and will be the juſteſt tribute we can pay to his memory: "Il importe peu au Public de ſavoir les raiſons qui en retardèrent "alors la publication; qu'il ſuffiſe de dire, qu'après s'être remis "à cet ouvrage l'Auteur le ſuſpendit de-nouveau, pour rendre "à un ſavant et ancien ami (dans un Païs voiſin) un ſervice "litéraire, qui demandoit quelques recherches aſſez minu-"tieuſes, au milieu deſquelles la mort l'arrêta, ſans qu'on "puiſſe dire qu'elle le ſurprît. Depuis quelques années il "étoit dans l'habitude de conſidérer chaque jour, qui ſe "renouvelloit pour lui, comme un jour-de-plus ajouté par la "Bonté divine, à une vie qui avoit déja ateint les bornes "les plus ordinaires de la vie humaine; et cela ſans que "l'égalité de ſon humeur, ſans que ſa gaieté naturelle en "fuſſent le moins du monde altérées †. Soutenu dans les

* "Paraboles ou Fables et autres petites narrations d'un citoyen de la "Republique Chrétienne du dix-huitième ſiècle: par CESAR DE-"MISSY. Troiſième édition; revue et corrigée par l'Auteur, 1776," 8vo; ſold by *Sewell* and *Elmſley*, and ornamented with a remarkable likeneſs of the Author.

† Mr. DE MISSY died Aug. 10, 1775; aged 72 years and 10 weeks.

and one for the Greek, printed in characters remarkable, not only by their uncommon largeneſs, but by their very form, which might be called a ſtiff and ſomewhat aukward imitation of moſt Mſſ. of the middle age. LE LONG obſerves that they are without *any* ſpirits or accents, *ſine ullis ſpirituum & accentuum notis :* and for this he had as his vouchers the very editors of the book, who ſay the ſame thing both in their Greek and Latin Prefaces. He might however have added, and not improperly, that the acute accent, which ſtrikes the eye in every line except on monoſyllables, was not employed as a Greek one, but merely as an *Apex* (κεραία), or little note, in order to guide thoſe who want it in the pronunciation or modulation of the words, or as the Latin Preface expreſſes it, *In prolatione modulationéve.* WETSTEIN, p. 118, of his *Prolegomena*, obſerves that it was done as cuſtomary with Latin

" chagrins et les embarras qu'il trouvoit ſur ſa route, par " une conviction raiſonnée des grandes Vérités qu'il a " prêchées juſques à la fin, avec un zele qui naiſſoit de cette " conviction, il n'avoit, à proprement parler, d'autre déſir, " d'autre objet, dans toutes ſes actions, dans ſes amuſe- " mens même, que la propagation de ces Verités. Rem- " pli de la bienveuillance la plus ſincère, de la charité " la plus cordiale, pour le Genre-humain, il ne voyoit que le " Chriſtianiſme bien-entendu qui pût rendre le Genre-humain " heureux, et il mettoit ſon propre bonheur à en répandre " la connoiſſance."—Theſe ſtriking particulars in the character of Mr. DE MISSY will be the more acceptable to the Reader, when he perceives that they are the amiable effuſions of friendſhip, enlivened by conjugal veneration. N.

tranſcribers

tranſcribers of Greek: expreſſing or rather explaining the thing in this manner: *More ſolis Latinis librariis Græca deſcribentibus uſitato, ſyllabis producendis accentum acutum appoſuerunt:* which, whether right or wrong, being liable to ſome miſunderſtanding, obliges me to note, I°. That the acute accent is uſed, not only where the ſyllable muſt be long *(ſyllabis producendis)*: but alſo wherever any Greek accent is required by the common rules of the Greek Grammar: II°. That the hint of thus uſing the acute might perhaps have been taken from the method already deviſed (I ſuppoſe) of uſing it ſo in ſome Latin Rituals, in which, for example, you may find, *Laudáte púeri Dóminum . . . . Bénedic Dómine púeris iſtis . . . .* with this difference however, that Latin diſſyllables having always the accent, whether marked or not, on the firſt ſyllable, they of courſe could eaſily remain without the mark of it in ſuch books: and that this not being the caſe with the Greek, our COMPLUTENSIAN editors prudently allowed an accent to ſuch words on that of the two ſyllables which had a right to it. Some other more minute particulars I willingly paſs over: but one there is which, I think, ſhould not have eſcaped obſervation. It is the conſtant omiſſion of the *iota* wherever we are uſed to find it either *ſubſcriptum* or *adſcriptum*; a peculiarity the more remarkable, becauſe it obtains, not only in the Greek books of the four former volumes, where uſual ſpirits and accents are admitted, but even in ſuch parts of the fifth as enjoy the ſame prerogative on account of

their being only acceſſaries to the New Teſtament; and of which one, at leaſt, ſhould not have paſſed unnoticed by Le Long. I mean that part of the volume which contains, together with a very compendious *Introduction* to the Greek language, a Greek Lexicon, by the help of which a beginner is enabled to go through all the books of the New Teſtament, and two of the Old into the bargain: *Ecce enim vobis damus Lexicon copioſum . . . . In quo omnia vocabula totius Novi Teſtamenti: & inſuper Sapientie & Eccleſiaſtici continentur: & eorum multiplices ſignificationes copioſe exponuntur:* ſays the writer of the *Introduction.* At the bottom of the title-page we have an account of all the contents, which ends with theſe words: *Poſtremo loco librum claudunt interpretationes omnium totius Novi Teſtamenti vocabulorum que tam Grecam quam Hebraicam & Chaldaicam ſortita ſunt etymologiam ab initio Matthei uſque ad finem Apocalypſeos.* Theſe *interpretationes*, however, in my copy, are placed immediately before the New Teſtament: and the volume cloſes with the Lexicon. The known date of 1514 January the 10th is taken from the laſt page of the New Teſtament; and the other contents of the volume, it may be ſuppoſed, were finiſhed before or very ſoon after: ſo that if, according to the received accounts of the matter, and ſtrictly ſpeaking, it was not ſuffered to be publiſhed till 1522, it muſt have lain hidden for nine years. Is this very likely? But however it be: as what little I have to propoſe, relating to that queſtion, is intimately connected with

my obſervations on the ſixth volume, let me now take it in hand.

This volume, which, for an obvious reaſon, taken from the natural order of matters in the whole ſet, is not improperly called the *laſt*, was nevertheleſs ready for publication ſo ſoon as about fifteen months after the New Teſtament; the *Vocabulary* which it contains being finiſhed the 17th of March, 1515; and its companion the *Grammar*, on the laſt day of May in the ſame year. Now, if conjecturing that from that day ſome copies of it (as well as from an earlier date ſome copies of the New Teſtament) were dealt out by way of ſale or as preſents, ſhould be deemed, or even found contrary to fact; the falſe conjecture, I hope, would be judged excuſeable at leaſt, after reading the following words of the Preface: *In communem Chriſtiane reipublice utilitatem dedimus novum teſtamentum Greco Latinoque ſermone impreſſum; adjecto inſuper quam utiliſſimo Lexico Grecarum omnium dictionum que in eo continentur: daturi quam primum vetus inſtrumentum (quod jam nunc in prelo eſt) Hebraica Chaldaica Grecaque lingua cum ſingulis Latinis interpretationibus excuſſum. En premitimus vobis veluti pro deguſtamento & preludio operis copioſiſſimum Hebreorum Chaldeorumque vocabulorum dictionarium.* Such expreſſions are certainly ſo much in the ſtile of Editors publiſhing a work volume by volume, that any one might naturally be led to conceive this was the caſe with the COMPLUTENSIAN Editors; with regard at leaſt to the two firſt-finiſhed volumes. Sufficient reaſons

ſons appear, or may be imagined, why they ſhould have wiſhed to publiſh them in that manner; and if they would, what could have hindered them, eſpecially at that time, ſo long before LUTHER by his bold attempts of reformation, or even ERASMUS by his Greek and Latin New Teſtament, had made any noiſe? ERASMUS publiſhed his New Teſtament in 1516, and dedicated it with an honeſt freedom to Pope LEO the Tenth. Might not the great, the powerful and antient XIMENES have taken equal liberty with the ſame young, and newly-made Pope, when his New Teſtament was finiſhed in January 1514? And ſuppoſing he deemed it decent, or even neceſſary, to be provided beforehand with a Papal approbation, could he not have procured it as eaſily as ERASMUS, upwards of four years after (in September 1518), procured from his Holineſs a Brief which he might prefix to his then-preparing ſecond edition, and *which*, as Dr. JORTIN expreſſes it, *might ſtamp ſome authority upon it?* If XIMENES's New Teſtament being finiſhed in 1514 was not kept a ſecret, there muſt certainly have been ſome demand for it: and that his oſtenſible progreſſes in diſpatching the ſix volumes were not a ſecret, may be inferred, with ſome probability at leaſt, from what GOMECIUS relates of the laſt, who tells us (*folio verſo* 38), that on the very day when the finiſhing hand was put to the laſt volume, the Printer, ARNALD WILLIAM DE BROCARIO, ſent his ſon JOHN, elegantly dreſſed, to preſent a copy of the ſaid volume to XIMENES, who,

on

on receiving it, looked up to Heaven with this exclamation, *Grates tibi ago, ſumme Chriſte, quòd rem magnopere à me curatam ad optatum finem perduxeris:* and then addreſſing himſelf to his *Familiares*, ſpoke to this purpoſe: *Equidem cum multa ardua & difficilia reip. cauſa hactenus geſſerim, nihil eſt amici, de quo mihi magis gratulari debeatis, quàm de hac bibliorum editione: quæ una ſacros religionis noſtræ fontes tempore perquam neceſſario aperit: unde multò purior theologica diſciplina haurietur, quàm à rivis poſtea deductis.* All this, I think, bears no appearance of a myſtery: unleſs it ſhould be proved that by the Cardinal's *Familiares*, who were witneſſes of the ceremony, we muſt underſtand none but the confidents of the ſecret, not excluding the youth who preſented the Book. It may be objected indeed, that * * *

account alſo cannot paſs without a touch. The title-page refers the Reader to a ſubſequent Addreſs, where he will find a more explicit enumeration of the Contents: and in this indeed ſome mention is made of a Greek Lexicon: but, had LE LONG read it with due attention, he would ſoon have ſeen that the Author in that place was ſpeaking of what had been done in the volume of the New Teſtament. To the Vocabulary are ſubjoined, *Interpretationes Hebraicorum*; *Chaldeorum*; *& Grecorum nominum*; *veteris ac Novi Teſtamenti ſecundum ordinem alphabeti.* And as I can by no means ſuſpect LE LONG of having miſtaken this for a *Greek Lexicon*, let it be noticed only as an article by him omitted, though in another place (of which by and by) he takes notice of a piece cloſely joined with it; after which comes, by him alſo unregarded, a Latin Index with proper references to the great Hebrew and Chaldaic Vocabulary: the Grammar which follows the Latin Index cloſing the whole.—The piece, of which I ſaid he took notice in another place, is thus indicated by him: *Catalogus eorum quæ in utroque Teſtamento aliter ſcripta ſunt vitio Scriptorum quam in Græco, auctore Alphonſo de Zamora:* with a vague reference to the

"diit opus iſtud pulcherrimum Leoni 10. pontifici nuncupatum, *Compluti* excuſum ſex voluminibus in folio: quorum *poſtremum* anno 1515 praelo exiit:" and that, juſt before, he had ſaid: "*Acceſſit volumine* POSTREMO *Hebræorum, Chaldæorum,* & Græcorum *Vocabulorum Onomaſticon copioſiſſimum.*"

Sixth

Sixth Volume of the COMPLUTENSIAN Polyglott: and the place, where he thus indicates it, is in the ſecond ſection of his laſt chapter, among the collections of various readings, under the ſpecial title of VARIAE LECTIONES GRAECAE. Now I think I might ſafely affirm, that, in the whole volume referred-to, the only piece he could mean was that which, at the end of the *Interpretationes Nominum*, is thus introduced: *Nomina que ſequuntur ſunt illa que in utroque teſtamento vicio ſcriptorum ſunt aliter ſcripta quã in Hebreo & Greco & in aliquibus bibliis noſtris antiquis. In primo autem ordine ponũtur ipſa nomina ſicut ſunt ĩ bibliis noſtris modernis: in ſecundo vero ordine vel e regione ponũtur ſicut ſunt in Hebreo & Greco & in p̄fatis bibliis noſtris antiquis: & hoc per ordinem alphabeti.* What ſhall I ſay more? Let every one judge for himſelf, how properly ſuch a piece could be ranked among the collections of *Greek various Readings* [*d*]. Neither ſhall I ſo much as aſk pardon for having dwelt ſo long upon this volume: its peculiar and well-known ſcarcity being, I think, a ſufficient apology for what I have done. GOMECIUS wrote, two hundred and five years ago (*folio verſo* 37), that it was wanting in ſome copies, through the careleſſneſs of certain people (*quorundam incuriâ*) who had undertaken to keep them ſafe (*qui eos aſſervandos ſuſcepe-*

[*d*] In the margin of Mr. DE MISSY's MS. was this remark: "N. B. From the abovementioned Preface, what "the intention of XIMENES ſeems to have been, with regard "to the gradual publication of the Volumes."

rant).

rant). I wiſh he had been bold enough to tell us who thoſe people were, as it is quite improbable that the Books were left in the keeping of the Printer, who no doubt would have kept them with more care.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * [e]

In ſhort, I cannot help ſuſpecting the COMPLUTENSIAN New Teſtament of being antedated: and ſhould I be aſked what could engage the Editors to play ſuch a trick, I may anſwer, It could be a jealouſy of appearing as earlier editors of ſo notable a work than ERASMUS, who had publiſhed his New Teſtament not far from the beginning of 1516: a jealouſy, I ſay, of the ſame kind as that of GENEBRARD, who, ſeeing TREMELLIUS's edition of the Syriac New Teſtament in Hebrew characters printed together with the Greek Text by H. STEPHENS ſo ſoon as 1569, would by all means have it that TREMELLIUS had made it his by ſtealth *(per plagium ſibi vindicavit)*, from the Antwerp Polyglott, before this was publiſhed in 1572; notwithſtanding TREMELLIUS's Preface, teſtifying that he had performed his work ſo early as 1565, which is two years earlier than BODERIANUS himſelf pretended to have performed his; thinking it probably ſufficient to vindicate his own priority and honeſty. See LE LONG, p. 44 and 45, of the folio edition [f].

[e] Here is another chaſm in the Mſ.

[f] Mr. DE MISSY's beautiful copy of the COMPLUTENSIAN Polyglott was ſold to THE ROYAL LIBRARY for forty guineas, the exact price it had formerly coſt him.

N° VI.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

P. 7. l. 3. Queen MARY incorporated the Company of Stationers, with an expreſs deſign of preventing "ſeditious "and heretical books, which were daily printed, to the re-"newal and propagating *very great and deteſtable hereſies* "*againſt the faith, and ſound Catholic doctrine of Holy Mother* "*the Church*;" and impowered them "to ſeize, take away, "have, burn, or convert to their own uſe, all books which "ſhould be printed contrary to the form of any ſtatute, act, "or proclamation, made or to be made." Theſe were the regulations of a *Catholic* Princeſs; but an equal authority was given by her *Proteſtant* Succeſſors, who muſt certainly have had a very different opinion of *ſeditious and heretical books*.

Ibid. l. 16. An epitaph on NICHOLAS CORSELLIS (who died Oct. 19, 1674) has been produced, by the writers on both ſides of the queſtion, with very different views. Thoſe who eſpouſe the ſentiments of Dr. MIDDLETON maintain, that the idea of being deſcended from the earlieſt Engliſh printer was a mere fancy, ſuggeſted by what they call the *fictitious* record of ATKYNS, ſince NICHOLAS was unable to trace his pedigree farther back than 1664; and Mr. SALMON, in particular, miſtaking the intention of the epitaph, gravely obſerves, "that *its date* is inconſiſtent with the "time that Printing was brought into England;" as if it were pretended that NICHOLAS was the introducer of the art. Mr. MEERMAN, on the contrary, who has ably vindicated ATKYNS and the record, adduces this very epitaph

as an additional argument; and, after clearly proving that ZEAGAN CORSELLIS, the father of NICHOLAS, was descended from a family of good note in the 15th and 16th centuries, satisfactorily accounts for the pedigree's having been continued no farther back than NICHOLAS.

P. 7. l. 18. JOHN BAGFORD, by profession a bookseller, frequently travelled into Holland and other parts, in search of scarce books and valuable prints, and brought a vast number into this kingdom, the greatest part of which were purchased by the earl of OXFORD. In the Philosophical Transactions, for April 1707, appeared an Essay on the Invention of Printing, by Mr. JOHN BAGFORD, ; with an account of his Collections for the same. A list of these Collections may be seen in the Catalogue of Harleian Mss. vol. II. N° 5892—5910. BAGFORD died May 5, 1716, aged 65.

P. 17. l. 18. This history by BAGFORD is yet unpublished. It is described in the Harleian Catalogue, under the title of, "N° 5901. A book in folio, shewing the progress of printing at Oxford."

P. 20. *Add to note* [K]. After so much has been said about the Lambeth Record *, it may not be amiss to add what ENSCHEDIUS, an intimate friend of Mr. MEERMAN, subjoins to his account of it: "Cæterùm omnem lapidem "movimus, ut hujus Manuscripti copiam haberemus, et ideo "anno 1740 binas Literas ad nunc temporis summè Reve"rendum Archipræsulem Cantuariensem, LORD JOHN †,

* It is no small confirmation of what we have advanced in favour of CORSELLIS, that our arguments have had the honour of being adopted by Sir JAMES BURROW, in his valuable Reports; who justly observes, "that it is very unsafe to trust to common history; and necessary to recur "to original testimonies, if we would know the state of facts with "exactness." Vol. IV. p 2417.

† Dr. JOHN POTTER.

"scripsimus,

" ſcripſimus, qui etiam pro ſuo ſingulari, quo rempublicam " literariam fovet, favore non defuit, quin omnia perquirenda " curaret, qua pro inſigni humanitate, debitas ipſi hic agimus " gratias: verùm cùm Archivum dictorum Archiepiſco- " porum ſubinde negligentius habitum fuerit; hoc Manu- " ſcriptum, quod dolemus, ibidem reperiri non potuit; ſed " ſufficit quod ATKYNS teſtetur, ſe ejus Apographum in " manibus habuiſſe, illudque accepiſſe a Viro quodam Reve- " rendo, qui illud tum, cum Archivo eidem præeſſet, ex " Autographo deſcripſerit." *Annus Sæcularis Tertius inventæ Typographiæ, Harlemi, apud Iſaakum et Johannem Enſchede*, 1742, p. 74.—In this treatiſe of ENSCHEDIUS, which is very little known in England, is a beautiful view of the market-place at Harleim*, and of the ſpacious manſion formerly inhabited by LAURENTIUS, which is now divided into three houſes.

P. 55. Dr. MIDDLETON's catalogue of CAXTON's Books is omitted; being confined only to thoſe which are in the Public Library at Cambridge.

P. 85. The note [O] was printed before we had an opportunity of ſeeing what M. DE BURE has ſaid on this earlieſt edition of the Bible, which he deſcribes under the title of " Biblia Sacra Latina Vulgata: Editio primæ ve- " tuſtatis, æneis characteribus, abſque loci & anni notâ, ſed " typis Moguntinis Johannis Fuſt evulgata: Opus longe " rariſſimum, cujus Pariſiis adverſatur Exemplar in Biblio- " thecâ Mazarinæâ, 2 vol. in fol." The types are larger than thoſe of the *Speculum*, and leſs than what were uſed in the *Pſalters* of 1457 and 1459; and, though it has no date, is clearly fixed to the year 1450. It is ſuppoſed by M. DE BURE to be the edition which FUST ſold in France as a manuſcript. The reaſon for this ſuppoſition, however, is

* See above, p. 58.

the

the leſs ſatisfactory, as it is grounded merely on the improbability of FUST's attempting ſuch an artifice with the edition of 1462, after taking pains to tell the world that it was performed *artificioſâ adinventione imprimendi ſeu characterizandi abſque calami exercitatione:* and the learned Frenchman's deſcription of the latter edition affords a very probable argument againſt his opinion on the ſubject. After having mentioned *eight* ſeveral copies of it now exiſting at Paris (ſeven of them on vellum, and only one on paper), he exhibits *three* various colophons, with a wiſh that the variation could be accounted for. We ſubmit to this ingenious writer, whether it be not natural to ſuppoſe that the colophon received the ſeveral alterations whilſt it was actually at preſs; which is the more likely, as ſome copies have it in black, and others in red. If this be the caſe, does it not naturally follow, that ſuch copies as were intended to paſs for manuſcripts were worked-off without any colophon at all? In confirmation of this conjecture, there is good authority for aſſerting that FUST never traded to Paris till July 1466, when printing was unknown in that city; and that the copies he then ſold *de arte characterizandi omnino fiebant*. See MEERMAN, vol. I. p. 154.—The edition of 1450 is uncommonly rare, only three copies of it having ever been taken notice of; one of them in the king of PRUSSIA's library, a ſecond in the BENEDICTINE Convent near Mentz, and a third in the collection of Cardinal MAZARIN.—That of 1462, though exceedingly valuable, is much more frequently met with. It is, like the former, in 2 volumes folio, but printed in Gothic characters; and is juſtly eſteemed a very beautiful performance.

P. 86. M. DE BURE gives a very full account of the celebrated Pſalter of 1457; and proves very clearly that the edition

edition of 1459 (of which no more than *one copy* * is at present known) is different from the former.

P. 90. *Note, after* proceſs, *add,* If the copper *matrix* were to be melted, and ſo receive the face of the letter from the punch; a roughneſs would be left by the fuſion of the metal, which would be propagated to all the letters caſt in ſuch *matrix*, and would render them unfit for uſe.

Ibid. *Add to note* [U]. "Mr. MEERMAN's explanation "is intricate at leaſt; and it leaves us beſides to wonder, not "only how *forms of letters* could be bare bodies or pieces of "metal *without letters*, but how ſo conſiderable a part of the "invention as the matrices ſhould have been only men-"tioned indirectly, as a thing well known before. A cor-"rection, however, ſeems abſolutely neceſſary. Neither can "it be denied that Mr. MEERMAN, by inſerting *ex eis*, "clears TRITHEMIUS from the reproach of ſaying, that even "matrices were made by way of *fuſion*; and thus far I like his "correction ſo well, that I am ſorry to ſee the new difficulties "ariſing from it in the context, notwithſtanding his elabo-"rate explanation; which, had I room and leiſure to make "it plainer by a compleat paraphraſe, I ſhould rather leave "as it is; becauſe all the machines required for ſuch a "paraphraſe would only ſerve to ſet in a clearer light the "intricacy of the affair, while ſomething better perhaps may "be done to obtain what ſeems to have been Mr. MEERMAN's "chief end. Something certainly is faulty in TRITHE-"MIUS's phraſe, *fundendi formas . . . quas ipſi matrices nomi-"nabant.* But then, why ſhould not the fault be ſuſpected "to lie in that very unlucky word which properly conſti-"tutes the acknowledged abſurdity of the phraſe? I think, "in ſhort, that by ſome ſpot or accidental ſtroke of "the pen in the MS. the word *cudendi* might have been

* Formerly belonging to M. DE BOZE, and now to the Preſident DE COTTE.

"miſtaken

" miſtaken for *fūdendi:* nay, I think, that even the more " ſimilar word *tundendi* might have been employed by " TRITHEMIUS, as being not altogether improper, ſince " it could be interpreted, at leaſt with the help of ſome in- " dulgence, by *Tudite vel tudicula imprimendi*; not to ſay " that, according to the well-known obſervation, *Verbum* " *ſimplex ſaepe ponitur pro compoſito*, the ſimple word *tundendi* " might be taken in a ſenſe analagous to the compound " *pertundendi*. I can ſay no more at preſent." C. D. M.

P. 92. *Add to note* [Z]. " Having not Mr. KÖHLERUS's " book, I can but gueſs how *Deborah* comes in there " with *Chriſtina*; and the only thing I can gueſs is, that " KÖHLERUS, in order to evince the poſſibility of *Dynen* " being a diminutive of *Chriſtina*, had alledged, as an ex- " ample of a ſtill ſhorter diminutive, the uſe of *Deb* for " *Deborah:* which if he did, Mr. MEERMAN's ſeeming to " wonder at it may be tolerably accounted for. But what " if, inſtead of theſe diminutives that retain only the begin- " ning of a name, he had mentioned ſome of thoſe which " retain only the latter part of it, and that not always en- " tire, as our *Bell* for *Arabella*, *Mun* for *Edmund*, *Tony* for " *Antony*, *Sander* for *Alexander*, *Bet* or *Betty* for *Elizabeth?* " Mr. MEERMAN's own book furniſhes us (vol. II. p. 79.) " with a liſt of German names, among which, *Hans* clearly " appears for *Johans* or *Johannes*, *Claus* for *Nicolaus*, and, if " I miſtake not, *Neſe* for *Agnes*. Such examples make it " certainly plauſible enough that *Tynen*, or the ſame lovingly " ſoftened into *Dynen*, might be a diminutive of *Chriſtynen*, " which (or elſe *Chriſtynin)* I take to be the feminine for " *Chriſtyn*; as *Fuſtin*, or *Fuſten*, is the feminine for *Fuſt*. See " vol. I. p. 184. where this very daughter of *Fuſt* is called " *Fuſthin*, but where *th* imports no more than *t*. And ſup- " poſing now that all this ſhould be deemed inſufficient to

"solve the question how JOHN SCHOEFFER could call his "mother *Christina*, while it appears that his father, in a "convention passed between himself and his kinsman, *John* "*Fust*, son of *John*, has called her by the name of *Dynen*; "there is, I think, another solution ready, in the obvious "supposition that she might have two names, and that he, "especially in a writing passed with a kinsman, might have "chosen, as a loving husband, to call her familiarly by what "I must be allowed to term the favourite name." C. D. M.

P. 93. l. ult. *Add*, See more of this Psalter, p. 174.

P. 102. Dr. ASKEW's copy of the Psalter of 1481 was sold, to THE ROYAL LIBRARY, for sixteen guineas: Mr. DE MISSY's was bought by Dr. HUNTER for nineteen pounds. According to M. DE BURE, it has little merit except as being the earliest edition; yet it is exceedingly scarce. The colophon is, "Impressum Mediolani, M.CCCC.LXXI. die 20 Septembris."—The Psalter of 1486, in 4to, is also very scarce, and little known. Dr. ASKEW had a copy of it, which was sold for four guineas. Mr. DE MISSY had another; which wanting a single leaf, he would have supplied the deficiency by transcribing it from Dr. ASKEW's copy, if he had not been prevented by other avocations. When his Library was on sale, this Psalter, being accidentally omitted in the Catalogue, was sold for 6 guineas, without mentioning the circumstance of not being perfect: it was presently returned; and sold afterwards for 2 *l.* 7 *s.*

P. 105. On a blank leaf of Mr. DE MISSY's copy of ALDUS's Septuagint (which was sold to THE BRITISH MUSEUM for 5*l.* 15*s.*) was written, probably by himself, *Hoc exemplar ipsissimum illud est, quod in Catalogo Bibl. Thuanæ hisce verbis designatum:* "*Biblia Sacra Græca, Fol. Venet.* 1518, *manu* "*Mich. Hospitalii notata.*"

P. 107. The following remarks are alluded to in our account of the first Paris Bible:

"SIR, Cambridge, Jan. 16, 1775.

"The beſt return I can make, for the pleaſure I have "received from your "Origin of Printing," is to com- "municate to you ſome particulars of the famous Latin "Bible in our Public Library, mentioned by you, p. 106 "and 107. And I will venture to aſſure you, that the "learned and accurate Dr. TAYLOR was miſtaken in what "he has ſaid of it; and PALMER, for once at leaſt, was right.

"In the Cambridge Bible, by holding the leaf up to the "light, there appears to have been three manifeſt eraſures "in the colophon *. So that I make no doubt but that this "is

* The kindneſs of another Friend has enabled us to give a particular account of theſe variations, which confirms what is pointed out above:

"The firſt book printed at Paris has always been ſuppoſed to be *Gaſparini Pergamienſis Epiſtolæ*, 1470, (ſee above, p. 28,) by Michael Friburger, Ulric Gering, and Martin Crantz; which contains this colophon:

"Ut Sol lumen, ſic doctrinam fundis in orbem
"Muſarum nutrix Regia Pariſius.
"Hinc propè divinam, tu, quam Germania novit
"Artem ſcribendi ſuſcipe promerita.
"*Primos* eece libros quos hæc induſtria finxit
"Francorum in terris, ædibus atque tuis.
"Michael, Udalricus, Martinuſque Magiſtri
"Hos impreſſerunt, ac facient alios."

As expreſs a teſtimony as this is for fixing the date of printing at Paris in 1470, the colophon you have exhibited in p. 106. confronts it as expreſsly for the year 1464, and by the ſame printers. LOUIS XI. began his reign in July 1461. Add two years and a half, or half a luſtrum, we come to the year 1464; though ſome former owner of the book, miſled by the falſe chronology of CHEVILLIER, placing the beginning of LOUIS's reign in 1460, has lettered it on the back 1463. But this date, like ſome others, has been detected of a forgery, and the book proved to be no other than the edition of 1476 (or, as CHEVILLIER, 1475); which has a long colophon, concluding with theſe lines:

"Jam tribus Undecimus luſtris Francos Lodoicus
"Rexerat, Ulricus, Martinus, itemque Michael;
"Orti Teutoniâ hanc mihi compoſuere figuram
"Pariſii arte ſua me correctam vigilanter,
"Venalem in vico Jacobi Sol aureus offert."

In the copy of this Bible at Cambridge, *tribus* has been eraſed, and *ſemi* written with a pen in its place; *luſtris* is changed into *luſtrū*, the laſt letter

" is the Bible mentioned by CHEVILLIER of 1475. I do not " give you this as any diſcovery of my own; it was made " many years ago by Mr. MAURICE JOHNSON of Spalding; " and I have been told that Dr. TAYLOR knew and was " convinced of the impoſture before he died.

" In the Catalogue of Dr. ASKEW's books to be ſold by " auction next month, N° 2064 † and 2622 ‡, are two " books ſaid to be printed by CORSELLIS at Oxford in " 1469 and 1470; but the colophon is ſo bunglingly done " with a pen, that I do not heſitate to pronounce theſe alſo " to be impoſtures.

" Some years ago, OSBORNE announced theſe books " in one of his Catalogues, which raiſed the curioſity " of the book-collectors, particularly of thoſe who had " ſeen ATKYNS's Tract, and who now conſidered theſe " books as a confirmation of what he had aſſerted about the " early printing at Oxford.—They all flocked to OS- " BORNE's ſhop; who, inſtead of the books, produced " a letter from a man at Amſterdam, filled with frivolous " excuſes for not ſending them to him—The Virtuoſo were " diſappointed, and looked on the whole as a lye; how-

letter being ill connected with the preceding. To carry on the cheat, and ſet this book at a greater variance from the edition of 1476, the two laſt lines of the colophon are totally eraſed, as is eaſily ſeen by holding the leaf up to the light; though, the better to conceal the fraud, an ordinary illumination is drawn over the eraſure, and a piece of paper paſted on the back of the leaf, to give a better colour to the fraud."

This Bible is, however, certainly a very great curioſity; only two copies of it being known at Paris, one in the King's Library, and the other in that of the Celeſtines. M. DE BURE mentions, that it has a ſort of Supplement, under the title of " Interpretationes Hebraïcorum nominum," printed in three columns, and marked with *ſignatures*, which do not occur in the body of the book; a circumſtance the more remarkable as they were uſed in 1470 in the *Epiſtolæ Guſp. Pergamienſis*. N.

† Ger. Liſtii Oratio, &c. It was ſold for 2 *l.* 3 *s.*

‡ Plinii Epiſtolæ; which was ſold for 1 *l.* 6 *s.*

" ever, they afterwards appeared at an auction at Amſter-
" dam, and were bought for Dr. ASKEW—To thoſe who
" are at all converſant in early printing, the dates will ap-
" pear at firſt ſight a bungling forgery.

" I am, &c."

P. 108. *Add*, Beſides the copy of SERVETUS, Mr. DE MISSY had ſeveral ſcarce editions of the Latin Bible; one of which, under the title of " Biblia Sacra, Vulgat. Edit. Papæ " Sixti V. *Rom.* 1590," was purchaſed for THE ROYAL LIBRARY, at the price of 25*l.* 10*s.* Two different editions were ſold to THE BRITISH MUSEUM; one, " Vulg. Edi-
" tionis Clementis Papæ VIII. *Rom.* 1592," for 6*l.* 15*s.*; the other, " Vetus Teſtamentum, Latinè redditum, ex " auctoritate Sixti V. Papæ editum, *Rom.* 1588," for 5*l.* 5*s.*

P. 110. l. ult. This *fine copy* was ſold for no more than 12*s.* 6*d*

P. 136. l. 3. CHEVILLIER, who does not pretend to enter into the learning or critical abilities of the reſpective editors, gives the preference to the French Polyglott ſolely on account of the ſuperior excellence of its types and paper, and of the magnificence which appears through the whole. Dr. WALTON's was printed by THOMAS ROYCROFT.

P. 162. It ſhould have been mentioned, that, in the margin of the concluding paragraph, the following note was written: ' Conf BODERIANI Dedicationem Editionis Pariſienſis Anni ' 1584. p. xvii. " Philippus Hiſpaniarum Rex—Plantino—
" Bibliorum πενταγλώττων Regio Mandato injunxit. Quod
" cùm auditione accepiſſem, illius tam præclari inſtituti pro-
" movendi cauſa unà cum fratre meo—eo me contuli."

P. 166. A *fourth* copy of the Bible of 1450 is in the library of the academy at Leipſic.

P. 167. *Three* other copies of the Pſalter of 1459 are pointed out by the Writer referred to in our Poſtſcript.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

WHEN this edition was far advanced in the preſs, an intelligent Correſpondent informed us, "that a curious "French book, printed in 1771 at Leipſic, under the title "of *Idée générale d'une Collection complette d'Eſtampes, avec "une Diſſertation ſur l'Origine de la Gravure et ſur les premiers "Livres d'Images*, had proved to conviction that cutting "in wood was known before COSTER, and that he had no "claim to the invention."—Not being able at that time to obtain a ſight of the book, we ſuppoſed the Author might mean no more than, what we have allowed to be of very ancient date, the Chineſe method of *engraved tablets*. Having ſince been favoured with a peruſal of the work alluded to, it is but juſtice to give a ſhort account of it as far as it relates to our ſubject; and the more ſo, as it profeſſedly oppoſes the whole ſyſtem of Mr. MEERMAN. His attention, as we ſuppoſed, is principally employed on ENGRAVINGS *; and, amongſt theſe, the *wooden cuts* in the earlieſt books appear in a conſpicuous light; which leads of courſe to an inveſtigation of the earlieſt printers.

The origin of *cutting on wood* is traced by this Author as far back at leaſt as 1423, and is attributed by him to the artiſts employed in making playing-cards †; who proceeded, from little pictures of ſaints ‡, to ſmall pieces of hiſtory, for the

* The Electoral Gallery at Dreſden is accurately deſcribed, as the propereſt model for a magnificent collection.

† BULLET, in "Recherches Hiſtoriques ſur les Cartes à jouer, "*Lyons*, 1757," ſuppoſes *cards* to have been firſt introduced between the years 1375 and 1380. Mr. MEERMAN, who appears to have conſidered this ſubject very accurately, allows that they were in uſe ſtill earlier, namely, before 1367: but will by no means agree that they were then formed from *engravings* of any kind; being only regular pieces of *painted paper*. They are now printed from *blocks*, by an operation different from that of the printing-preſs, and the court cards are afterwards coloured.

‡ Some of theſe early eſſays appear to have been actually uſed afterwards in that numerous ſpecies of books called *Legends*; many of which

the inſtruction of youth, and for purpoſes of devotion. Theſe gave GUTENBERG the hint of cutting *ſingle letters*; a purſuit in which, it is generally allowed, he nearly ruined himſelf; and in which his failure aroſe from not being able to form his whole collection preciſely of an uniform height. So far this anonymous Author agrees with Mr. MEERMAN; as he alſo does in the particulars of GUTENBERG's quitting Straſburgh, joining FUST at Mentz, and printing in that partnerſhip DONATUS and ſome other pieces both on ſeparate *wooden types* and on *wooden blocks*. He allows likewiſe the merit of inventing matrices to FUST and SCHOEFFER; but totally diſſents from the notion ſuggeſted by Mr. MEERMAN, that the face of the letters was ever cut on *caſt* bodies; attributing the irregularity of appearance in the very early books to the circumſtance of ſome particular types having been more worn than others. How far this opinion will operate againſt what Mr. MEERMAN has ſaid of the BIBLE of 1450, the PSALTERS, and the CATHOLICON, let the judicious Reader determine.

This Author gives a very ſatisfactory account of the PSALTERS of 1457 and 1459, formed from an actual examination of *five* copies of the former, and *three* of the latter; and cenſures the deſcription of DE BURE, as full of errors. The Pſalter of 1490, which is ſuppoſed to have been printed with the ſame types when extremely worn, is more ſcarce than either of the others: M. DE BURE never could meet with a copy of it; and the German Writer never heard but of a ſingle one *. Several of the large *wooden* capitals, which were cut for the *Pſalter*, appear to have been uſed likewiſe in DURANDUS.

There is a very curious volume of Fables, in ſmall folio, in the Library at Wolfenbuttel, which this Writer

have, at the head of each legend, the figure of a Saint, juſt of the ſize of the old playing-cards, and illuminated in the ſame manner.

* In the library at Eiſenach.—See above, p. 93.

thinks

thinks (if the date could be aſcertained) might claim the honour of being the firſt book in which there was a mixture of *wooden pictures* and *ſeparate types*; though it has been uſually conſidered as a work entirely conſiſting of *wooden blocks*.

A very accurate and entertaining account is given in this work of ſeveral books, under the head of "*Premiers Livres* "*gravés en Tables de Bois*." Amongſt theſe are, "La Bible "des Pauvres*;" "L'Hiſtoire de St. Jean et de l'Apo- "calypſe †;" "Images des Cantiques ‡;" and "Hiſtoire de "la Sainte Vierge ‡." Theſe four conſiſt entirely of pictures, without any reading.—Several others are enumerated, with a mixture of pictures and explanations, all on ſolid blocks of wood; among theſe, are "Le Livre de l'Anti- "chriſt;" "Ars memorandi;" "Ars moriendi; "Sujets

* This work has frequently been miſtaken for the *Speculum*. A Mſ. in the Library at Oſnabrug, written ſo early as 1467, begins an account of the pictures in it with "Incipit Speculum Humane Salvationis." Mr. MEERMAN deſcribes it under the title of "Figuræ typicæ veteris "atque antitypicæ Novi Teſtamenti, ſeu Hiſtoriæ Jeſu Chriſti in figuris." SCHÖPFLIN calls it, "Vaticinia Veteris Teſtamenti de Chriſto." But the appellation of "La Bible des Pauvres" is happily expreſſive of its original purpoſe; which was, to render the Scriptures familiar to thoſe who could not poſſibly pay for tranſcribing the whole Bible. Dr. ASKEW's copy of this book, which was imperfect, was ſold to Dr. HUNTER for 16 pounds.

† An illuminated copy of this work, formerly belonging to the celebrated VUYLENBROECK, was ſold by auction at Amſterdam to M. DE BOZE, from whom it paſſed to the Preſident DE COTTE, from him to the collection of M. DE GAIGNAT; whence it was purchaſed for HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY, and is now in THE ROYAL LIBRARY. This copy unfortunately wants the laſt leaf; but it is illuminated, and is enriched with many Mſ. leaves, explaining the ſeveral figures, in the German language.—Dr. ASKEW had an imperfect copy of this work, which was bought by Dr. HUNTER for 20 guineas.

‡ Mr. MEERMAN too haſtily cenſures SCHÖPFLIN, for calling theſe *different* books: which they clearly appear to be. The firſt of them he himſelf deſcribes, under the title of "Hiſtoria ſeu Providentia Virginis "Mariæ ex Cantico Canticorum iconice exhibita." A good account of the other is in the Leipſic book, under the title of "Hiſtoria beatæ Mariæ "Virginis ex Evangeliſtis & Patribus excerpta & per figuras demonſtrata."

tirés

"tirés de l'Ecriture Sainte;" "Speculum Humanæ Salva-
"tionis;" and "La Chiromantie du Docteur Hartlieb."

Zealous as this Author is in aſcertaining the date of the invention, he is not able to trace the *name* of any earlier Engraver than MICHAEL WOLGEMUT, who was born in 1434, and died in 1519; being totally for exploding LAURENTIUS COSTER, whom he will not allow to have been either an Engraver or a Printer. He cavalierly treats the whole hiſtory as a fiction of th Hollanders; and places, in oppoſition to the poſitive teſtimony of ADRIAN JUNIUS, the negative ſilence of CARL VAN MANDER, an eminent deſigner, painter, and engraver, who reſided at Harleim from 1585 till 1604, when he publiſhed an account of the illuſtrious painters and other artiſts of Flanders and Holland; and very particularly enumerates the works of ſome who, according to the chronology of Mr. MEERMAN, muſt have been the contemporaries of COSTER. It muſt be acknowledged that the ſilence of ſuch a Writer (eſpecially as he mentions that Harleim pretended to the honour of the invention) is of ſome weight; but not ſufficient, perhaps, to overthrow the chain of arguments which has been ſo ably produced by Mr. MEERMAN.

We cannot, however, take our leave of this ingenious Author without lamenting that he has been ſo little informed of the ſtate of the polite arts in this kingdom. His whole account of "Les Eſtampes Angloiſes" is comprized in ten pages; and the article of VERTUE, whoſe engravings are ſuch an honour to our country, *in four words* *. At the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged that, in points which he has had an opportunity of examining, his book appears to be accurate and inſtructive.

* Dr. ASKEW he has called "Mr. *Aſkens*;" and the Earl of DERBY "Comte *Jaques Derby*, Sgr de *Stanley*, &c." But theſe are a ſort of errors which Foreign Writers frequently commit, and which perhaps we may in ſimilar caſes be ourſelves too apt to fall into. N.

THE END.

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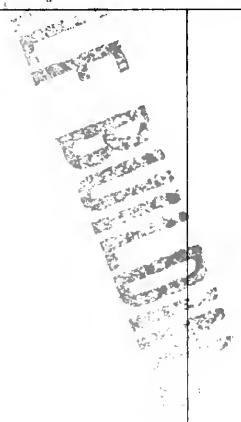

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